LA VIE SEINT AYMON

The Old French Prose Version of the Life of St. Edmund, King of East Anglia

by

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1967

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, in the Faculty of Philosophy, Columbia University.

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ABSTRACT

LA VIE SEINT AYMON

The Old French Prose Version of the Life of St. Edmund, King of East Anglia

I have made an annotated edition of La Vie Seint Aymon, the Old French prose version of the life of St. Edmund, the King of East Anglia who suffered martyrdom at the hands of the Danes during their great attack upon England in the later part of the ninth century. The text, hitherto unpublished, is preserved in only one manuscript, Bibliothèque Nationale fonds français 17229, a légendier written in the second half of the thirteenth century in Artois. La Vie Seint Aymon is based on a Latin life of St. Edmund by the tenth century French scholar Abbo of Fleury, and it may be considered a free translation of this scholar's work.

In the Introduction to the text I have summarized the history of the St. Edmund legend and the development of the cult. I have called attention in particular to those features an explanation of which will facilitate the reading of the French text. Therefore, I have discussed the early development of the cult which is described in La Vie Seint Aymon as it is in Abbo; I have considered in detail the account of St. Edmund's life as it is presented in Abbo's work and afterwards in La Vie Seint Aymon and

have mentioned only briefly certain elaborations and variations on the legend appearing in the large body of literature which later grew up about the figure of St. Edmund. La Vie Seint Aymon is interesting in that it is the only continental French version of St. Edmund's life; there are two Old French poems about St. Edmund, La Vie Seint Edmund le Rei by Denis Piramus and the anonymous La Passiun de Seint Edmund, but they are both Anglo-Norman.

La Vie Seint Aymon is also interesting in that it is a rather early example of Old French prose, belonging as it does to the second half of the thirteenth century. The language of the text is that of standard thirteenth century French. The spelling presents a certain degree of fluctuation, but no more than is regular for the period. The double case system is for the most part regularly employed, logical word order is the type of order most frequently used in the text. The vocabulary is in general also regular, although certain words which are not recorded in the standard dictionaries occur; however, these words are almost all recognizable by their root and simply differ from the standard form by their prefix or suffix.

The script of La Vie Seint Aymon is a clear Gothic hand; standard abbreviations are employed quite frequently. The manuscript is characterized by quite a marked degree of correctness in execution. Professor Baltzell and the late Professor Porter of Indiana University, who called attention to La Vie Seint Aymon in an article in the April, 1954 issue of the Romanic Review, suggested that this work might be the

autograph copy, since it occurs in no extant manuscript except B.N. fonds francais 17229, including several others with which this manuscript has affinities in many respects. The scarcity in La Vie Seint Aymon of the kind of errors which are usually attributed to a copyist seems to substantiate this suggestion.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my gratitude to my advisor Professor Lawton P.G. Peckham of Columbia University for his help in the preparation of this dissertation. I should also like to express my appreciation to Professor Elliot V.K. Dobbie for his valuable suggestions about the historical section of this dissertation, to Professor Mario A. Pei and Professor Daniel F. Penham for their help in my work.

I wish to thank Professor Richard F. O'Gorman and the French Department of the University of Indiana for lending me the late Professor M.E. Porter's notes on the St. Edmund material.

I also should like to express my gratitude to Mr. Edward Darling of the University of Vermont for his invaluable assistance in proofreading my material, to Mrs. George Schofield of Caracas, Venezuela, for the care and time she devoted to typing this paper, and to my mother for her encouragement and interest in my work.

LA VIE SEINT AYMON.

La Vie Seint Aymon is an Old French prose version of the life of St. Edmund, the king of East Anglia who suffered martyrdom at the hands of the Danish invaders during their great attack upon England in the later part of the ninth century.[1] The Old French prose version is based on a Latin life written by the tenth century French scholar Abbo of Fleury.[2] It is preserved in only one manuscript, fonds francais 17229 (f.222-230v°) of the Bibliothèque Nationale.[3] It has never been published. The manuscript is a légendier containing sixty-two articles which are for the most part saints' lives and biblical legends. It was written

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[1]The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle gives 870 as the year of Edmund's death, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, rev. trans. ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, with David C. Douglas, and Susie I. Tucker, (Norwich, Jarrold & Sons Ltd., 1961), p. 46. In the later part of the ninth century there are a number of displacements of date in the Chronicle, which are corrected in Miss Whitelock's book. In this discussion, I follow her dates rather than the ones given in the manuscripts.

[2]Abbo of Fleury, Passio Sancti Eadmundi, Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey (London, Rolls Series, 1890) I, 3-25.

[3]Cf. Henri Omont and L. Auvray, Bibliothèque Nationale catalogue général des manuscrits français (Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1898), Vol. II, Ancien Saint-Germain français, p. 46.

in the second half of the thirteenth century in Artois, perhaps in Arras.[4]

Professor Baltzell and the late Professor Porter of Indiana University recently called attention to La Vie Seint Aymon.[5] They pointed out that it was the only continental French version of the life of St. Edmund, king of East Anglia.

They suggested, moreover, that since the St. Edmund story occurs in the légendier of MS. B. N. fr. 17229, and

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[4]Paul Meyer, "Légendes hagiographiques," Histoire Littéraire de France (1906), XXXIII, 416-20. For the relationship between this légendier and others of a similar nature, cf. also Paul Meyer, "Notice du MS. Bibl. Nat. Fr. 6447," Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris, Klincksieck, 1896), XXXV, 467 ff. La Chandelle d'Arras is one of the articles of the légendier in MS. 17229 which appears in no other similar collection; the fact that it is a local legend of Arras suggests that the manuscript was executed in this city; cf. Meyer, "Légendes hagiographiques," p. 420. I have been informed in a letter from Florence Callu, Bibliothécaire, Département des Manuscrits, Bibliothèque Nationale, about certain details of the manuscript's history. The signatures in f.367v° indicate that the manuscript was in the possession of the House of Bretagne in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In the seventeenth century it entered the library of the chancellor Séguier, the great bibliophile; it is unknown in what way this happened. At Séguier's death in 1672, his collection passed to his grandson Henri-Charles du Cambout de Coislin, who bequeathed it to the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in 1732; at the time of the Revolution, the collection of Saint-Germain passed to the Bibliothèque Nationale. The manuscript's history since the fifteenth century is quite clear from the preceding account; however, it is apparently not possible to know how the manuscript came into the possession of the House of Bretagne.

[5]M. E. Porter and J. H. Baltzell, "Old French Lives of St. Edmund," Romanic Review (April, 1954), XLV, No. 2, 87-88. Albert Dauzat (Dictionnaire Étymologique des noms de famille et prénoms de France [Paris, Larousse 1951], pp. 18, 232, 318, does not consider Aymon or its variant Aimon, Haimon, all

in no other extant manuscript , including one with which this manuscript has affinities in other respects,[6] the prose version of St. Edmund's life in MS. B.N. fr. 17229 may be the autograph copy. In this case, it would have been translated directly from a copy of Abbo's Passio Sancti Eadmundi.[7]

Professor Porter made a transcription of La Vie Seint Aymon, which has not been published. I have read this transcription and I am indicating in the notes of my edition any significant differences between his transcription and my own, as well as any instances where I was dependent on his reading in making mine.

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derivatives from the germanic root Haim, a form of Edmond, derived from the germanic roots ed and munt, nor does Charlotte M. Yonge (History of Christian Names [New York, MacMillan, 1884], pp. 1, 308-11, 377.

[6]Cf. Meyer, "Légendes hagiographiques," pp. 416-20; in "Notice du MS. Bibl. Nat. fr. 6447," pp. 467 ff., Meyer discusses other manuscripts with which MS. B.N. fr. 17229 has affinities.

[7]Porter and Baltzell, "Old French Lives of St. Edmund," p. 87.

THE LATIN LIFE OF ST. EDMUND.

Abbo's Passio Sancti Eadmundi,[1] the work upon which La Vie Seint Aymon is based, was written between the years 985 and 987, while the author was staying in England.[2]

Abbo, who was a monk at the monastery of Fleury-sur-Loire, went to England in connection with the ecclesiastical reform which took place in that country during the second half of the tenth century under the direction of Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, Oswald, Archbishop of York, and Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester. Abbo was sent from Fleury, at Oswald's request, as a teacher to the recently founded Abbey of Ramsey.[3] At that time Fleury was one of the greatest centers of learning in France as well as a

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[1]Abbo Floriacensis, Passio Sancti Eadmundi, ed. Thomas Arnold, Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey, (London, Rolls Series, 1890), vol. I, 3-25; it is also published in Migne, Patrologia Latina CXXXIX, pp. 507-520; I am using Arnold's edition and all page numbers for Abbo refer to this edition. In regard to the manuscript tradition of this work, Arnold says (Memorials, I, lxiv), that the copies of Abbo's Passio are numerous, but that he made most use of MS. Bodley Fell 4 in preparing his edition.

[2]Cousin, Dom Patrice, Abbon de Fleury-sur-Loire, (Paris, P. Lethielleux, 1954), pp. 60-72, 215; this book gives a discussion of the life and works of Abbo.

[3]The Abbey of Ramsey was one of the many new monasteries established during the ecclesiastical reform in England; it was founded about 971 by Oswald, Archbishop of York and Count Ailwin of East Anglia; cf. Cousin, Abbon, p. 62; Dom David Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, (Cambridge, University Press, 1950), pp. 46 -51.

particular center of the Cluniac reform on the continent.[4] The account of Abbo's sojourn in England is given in the eleventh century life of the scholar by his student, Aimon. According to Aimon, Abbo spent two years at the Benedictine Abbey of Ramsey, helping with the monks' instruction, and while in England, he enjoyed the friendship of the Archbishops Oswald and Dunstan.[5]

Abbo prefaces his Passio Sancti Eadmundi by a letter to Saint Dunstan written on his return from a visit to him. In the letter Abbo says that he was urged by the monks in the monastery where he was staying, that is Ramsey, to write a life of Saint Edmund.[6] He also states that Dunstan has been his source of information about Saint Edmund's martyrdom.

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[4]Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, pp. 36-48; Cousin, Abbon, p. 65-67.

[5]Aimon, Vita Sancti Abbonis, ed. J. P. Migne, Patrologia Latina, CXXXIX, 392.

[6]Abbo (p.3.) writes:

> ...archiepiscopo Dunstano...Abbo Floriacensis monachus levita...Postquam a te, venerabilis pater, digressus sum cum multa alacritate cordis, et ad monasterium quod nosti festinus redii, coeperunt me obnixe hi cum quibus fraterna caritate detentus hospitando hactenus degui, pulsare manu sancti desiderii, ut mirabilium patratoris Eadmundi regis et martyris passionem litteris digererem...

The monastery referred to is presumably Ramsey, where Abbo spent most of his time in England, unless an alternative view, which proposes that Abbo wrote the life of St. Edmund after his return to France, is taken; in this case he would have been writing from Fleury (cf. Porter and Baltzell, "Old French Lives of Saint Edmund," p. 83.

Dunstan in turn had learned of it as a young man at the court of King Athelstan[7] from an old man who had been Edmund's shield bearer and had witnessed his death.[8] In his prefactory letter, therefore, Abbo asks Dunstan to make suggestions about the life of St. Edmund which he has written.[9]

Abbo's Passio Sancti Eadmundi is essentially an account of St. Edmund's martyrdom and the miracles which occurred first in connection with the saint's burial and later at his tomb at Bury St. Edmunds. Abbo gives little biographical information about Edmund, but by way of introduction to his account of the king's martyrdom at the hands of the Danes, he gives quite a full description of his character.[10] From the portrayal which Abbo gives of the young king, he appears as a capable and just ruler who endeared himself to his subjects by his great personal charm and generosity. He had a keenness of judgment, clarity of vision, and tranquillity of spirit which merited

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[7]Athelstan ruled from 924-940, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, ed. Whitelock, under 924 and 940, pp. 68-70.

[8]supra, p. v, n. 1.

[9]Abbo, pp. 3-4.

[10]Abbo, pp. 7-8.

Abbo's description: Vere philosophatus est in throno regni,[11] and he also possessed the virtues of humility, kindness, and religious devotion, especially suitable to a Christian king. Abbo develops his portrait of Edmund still further when he makes the king defy the Danish leader who was trying to force him to come to terms.[12] In this speech Edmund revealed that he was a courageous man and loyal Christian who refused to compromise his principles to save his life. When threatened with death by the Danish king he answered in calm and rational terms that capitulation to a pagan ruler was impossible for him as a Christian king, because he was obliged to direct his people to follow the law of Christ, not the will of one who by his actions defied the principles of Christianity.

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[11] Abbo, p. 4.

[12] Abbo, pp. 11-14.

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SUMMARY OF LA VIE SEINT AYMON.

La vie seint Aymon is a free translation of Abbo's work. The general organization of the French text, therefore, is the same as that of the Latin original; it may be divided into various sections which correspond to similar divisions in the Latin life. The line divisions given below refer to the French Text.

Prologue. 1-70. The prologue of La vie seint Aymon is somewhat confusing. Abbo originally wrote his prologue in the form of a letter addressed to Archbishop Dunstan, whose help he asked in writing the life of St. Edmund. The French author, without using letter form, paraphrases the contents of this letter. In so doing he speaks sometimes in his own person, sometimes in Abbo's; however, he never explains that he is adapting or quoting from another writer's work. It is this shift of person without any explanation that makes the prologue confusing. If this is kept in mind, the general idea of the French prologue becomes clear. In the introductory lines 1-12, the French writer says that Archbishop Dunstan, while making a provincial visit, comes to the Abbey of Fleury where he meets a young monk who is eager to write the life of St. Edmund. The monk is presumably Abbo, although the French writer never calls him thus. That Dunstan should have gone to Fleury and met Abbo there is of course contrary to the facts given in the

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Latin prologue. At line 12 of the French, the narrative changes abruptly to the first person, and presumably at this point the monk of Fleury begins to speak and explain how he learned about Edmund's life from Dunstan, who in turn had heard about it from Edmund's aged shield bearer. At the end of the prologue, 66-77, the monk addresses Dunstan directly and asks him for help in the work he is undertaking.

Historical and Geographic Introduction 74-129. Directly after the prologue, there is a brief introductory account of the Germanic settlement of Britain, 74-110, followed by a discussion of the geography of East Anglia. 111-129.

Description of St. Edmund's Character 130-169. The life itself begins with a description of those qualities of character which made Edmund a loyal Christian and a just king.

Danish Invasion 170-304. The Danes Hymgar and Humba are sent by the enemy of mankind to try the patience of Edmund, 170-209. They land with their forces in Northumbria and cause much destruction, 210-217. Humba then invades East Anglia; he pillages a city and kills as many men as he can in order that King Edmund will not have enough soldiers to lead an army against the Danes, 218-267. Humba then sends a messenger to Edmund demanding submission in the name of King Hymgar, 268-304.

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Edmund's Apology 305-444. Upon hearing the demand, Edmund first addresses his bishop, who fearing for his life advises submission, 305-345. Edmund answers that he does not wish to live any longer after his men have been killed; death, moreover, seems welcome now as it offers hope of eternal reward. He says that he has always taken risks himself in the service of his country and that he is ready to die in her service now; in losing his life he will gain an eternal reward. He declares he shall never abjure the Christian faith, to which he as a Christian king has always been loyal, by swearing allegiance to a pagan lord, 346-389. He then directs the concluding part of his response to Hymgar's messenger and firmly maintains that he is ready to die as a soldier of Christ. He is not afraid of the Danes depriving him of life, for they can never destroy his spirit. He avows that it is better to defend his liberty of spirit by death than to live in subjection to an evil lord and thus deny his true lord, Christ. Death in His service will assure the freedom of his spirit and bring it to eternal joy in heaven. Therefore, he will never acknowledge Hymgar as ruler unless he first becomes a Christian.

Martyrdom 445-559. Upon hearing the purport of Edmund's words, Hymgar orders his men to seize the king.[1] They enter the palace and arrest Edmund who makes no resistance but

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[1]See note to l. 448.

meekly allows himself to be led before Hymgar like Christ before Pilate. He is bound to a tree and shot with arrows like St. Sebastian and finally beheaded when his persecutors see that he refuses to abjure Christianity. The Danes then hide his head in the wood of Hegledun in order to prevent the Christians from giving it proper burial with the body.

Burial 560-670. The Christians in the vicinity are afterwards informed about the martyrdom by King Edmund's shield bearer, who has himself escaped. Later during a short period of ensuing peace, the Christians, having emerged from the places where they have hidden from the Danes, begin to look for the body and head of the martyr. They are aided in their search by the head, which having been miraculously endowed with speech, directs them to a place in the wood where it is guarded by a wolf. After finding the head they bury it with the body, which was found pierced with arrows beneath the tree where the martyr was bound. They build a simple church over the tomb, and the king lies in repose there for many years until a period of real peace begins.

Transference of the Saint's Body to Bury St. Edmunds. 671-706. Miracles occur at the first tomb and, therefore, after peace is restored the people of the region build a beautiful church in honor of the saint at Bedritegord, that is Bury St. Edmunds, and transport his body there. Upon opening his coffin, they find his body incorrupt and

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unscarred except for a thin red line about his neck in the place where the head had previously been severed from the body but now has again been attached to it.

Bishop Theodore, a Witness of the Saint's Incorruption 707-790. Bishop Theodore does penance for having passed a death sentence on eight thieves who tried to plunder St. Edmund's tomb. He performs his penance with such profound contrition that he receives special grace which gives him the courage to open the tomb of the saint and place his incorrupt body in a new coffin.

Episode of the proud young Nobleman 791-820. A young nobleman in his pride insists on looking at the body of St. Edmund, although he is forbidden to do so. He is subsequently punished for his arrogance by suffering death through illness and privation.

Epilogue 820-881. St. Edmund merits especial honor and devotion, for the miracles at his tomb and the incorruption of his body, which in particular exemplifies the great purity of his life, testify that he is of great worth in the sight of God. We should try as much as possible to imitate in our own lives his example and pray for his intercession.

THE LEGEND AND CULT OF ST. EDMUND.

The legend and cult of St. Edmund have been the subject of several studies during the last hundred years. Probably the most extensive is Thomas Arnold's Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey[1]. This work contains a very complete collection of documents, such as chronicles, annals, charters, and registers which provide information about the history of the great Abbey of Bury St. Edmund's and the growth of the Saint's cult, as well as a collection of many literary and historical works which throw light on the development of the St. Edmund legend. Other works dealing with the legend and cult of St. Edmund are two by Lord Francis Hervey: The History of King Eadmund the Martyr and of the Early Years of his Abbey[2] and the

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[1]Thomas Arnold, Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey, 3 vols. (London, Rolls Series, 1890-96). In addition to the documents themselves, each volume contains a long introduction in which the author discusses the historical background and significance of the documents collected.

[2]Lord Francis Hervey, The History of King Edmund the Martyr and of the Early Years of his Abbey (Oxford, University Press, 1929). In addition to discussing the life and cult of the martyr, the author edits and translates a fragment from MS.197 in the library of Corpus Christi College Oxford which deals with the earliest years of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmund's.

Corolla Sancti Eadmundi[3]; the latter contains a collection of documents, with translations, and some numismatic material on St. Edmund, as well as a general discussion of his life and times. The Rev. J.B. Mackinlay made a reconstruction of the saint's life, based on various sources, entitled Saint Edmund King and Martyr[4]. Irene McKeehan[5] and Grant Loomis[6] have traced the history of the legend and pointed out the many accretions which developed as a large body of literature on St. Edmund grew up through the course of centuries.

In their article "The Old French Lives of Saint Edmund," Porter and Baltzell[7] called attention to two old French lives of the saint which had not been treated in any of the studies listed above; they are the twelfth

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[3]Lord Francis Hervey, Corolla Sancti Eadmundi (London, John Murray, 1907).

[4]Rev. J. B. Mackinlay, O.S.B., Saint Edmund King and Martyr (London, Art and Book Company, 1893).

[5]Irene P. McKeehan, "St. Edmund of East Anglia: The Development of a Romantic Legend," University of Colorado Studies, XV (1925), 13-74.

[6]Grant Loomis, "The Growth of the Saint Edmund Legend," Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature, IV (1932), 83-113.

[7]Porter and Baltzell, "Old French Lives of Saint Edmund," pp. 83-84.

century Anglo-Norman poem La Passiun de Seint Edmund[8] and the unpublished prose work La Vie Seint Aymon. These lives, it is true, are simply adaptations of Abbo's Passio Sancti Eadmundi and do not provide any information about the saint or his cult that is not given by Abbo himself. However, they are interesting in that they continue the account set forth by Abbo at a later period when varying traditions were being recorded in certain other writings. La Vie Seint Aymon is particularly significant because it is the only extant continental French version of St. Edmund's life. Porter and Baltzell suggested that the window depicting scenes from St. Edmund's life in the cathedral of the neighbouring city of Amiens may have inspired the author in Artois to write the prose life. He may have wanted to explain in the vernacular the circumstances of St. Edmund's life and martyrdom for those who could not understand Abbo's Latin account.[9]

In the following pages I shall briefly review the

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[8]La Passiun de Seint Edmund, ed. A. Nabert (Greifswald, Buchdruckerei, 1915). Porter and Baltzell ("Old French Lives of Saint Edmund," p. 84, n. 17), point out that it was reedited as a doctoral dissertation by C. W. J. Higson at Cambridge. It has not yet been published, but a copy is on deposit in the University Library, Cambridge.

[9]Porter and Baltzell, "Old French Lives of Saint Edmund," pp. 87-88. The first lancet below the thirteenth century north rose window in the Cathedral of Amiens depicts scenes of St. Edmund's life; cf. Amedée Boinet (La Cathédrale d'Amiens [Paris, Henri Laurens, 1922], pp. 118-19), and George Durand (Monographie de L'Eglise Notre Dame d'Amiens [Paris, A. Pichard et Fils, 1903], II, Pt. 2, 546-50, who describes the scenes depicted as the king pierced

history of the St. Edmund legend and the development of the cult. I shall call attention in particular to those features an explanation of which will facilitate the reading of the French text. Therefore, I shall discuss the early development of the cult, which is mentioned in La Vie Seint Aymon as it is in Abbo: I shall consider the account of Saint Edmund's life as it is presented in Abbo's work and afterwards in La Vie Seint Aymon, and I shall mention only briefly certain elaborations and variations in the legend which appear in later works on St. Edmund. Before discussing the legend and cult, I shall summarize what is known about the history of East Anglia during the century in which King Edmund ruled.

Historical Background of East Anglia during the Ninth and Early Tenth Centuries.

Very little is known about East Anglia during the first half of the ninth century, that is the period immediately before King Edmund's reign. The small kingdom, which had been indirectly controlled by Mercia

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with arrows by Danish soldiers, then beheaded, and finally his soul being taken to heaven by angels. Some other scenes are not preserved well enough to discern.

for about a century and a half,[10] seems to have been actually incorporated into this state in 794, when the Mercian ruler Offa had Ethelbert, the king of East Anglia, beheaded. The particulars of Ethelbert's death are unknown; Offa probably feared the East Anglian ruler because he was in some way opposing Mercia on behalf of his country's independence.[11] The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records the event of his death without explaining any of the circumstances.[12] Ethelbert was later regarded as a saint and a martyr, however, and Hereford became the center of his cult.[13]

It is assumed that immediately after Ethelbert's death, East Anglia lost its independence and was governed

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[10]Although England until the tenth century was divided into small kingdoms, the ruler of one was often recognised as having a certain authority over the others. There has been much discussion among historians about the nature of the authority or control exercised by a particular ruler over neighboring kingdoms. The following scholars remark that such a ruler enjoyed an acknowledged, though probably not well defined, supremacy over the other English kingdoms: Edward A. Freeman, The History of the Norman Conquest of England (Oxford, Clarendon, 1873), I, 19, 366-70; Sir Frank Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England (Oxford, Clarendon, 1947, 2nd ed.) pp. 32-36; Christopher Brooke, The Saxon and Norman Kings (New York, MacMillan, 1963), p. 103.

[11]Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, p. 209.

[12]The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Whitelock, under 794, p. 36.

[13]Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, p. 209, who cites "Two Lives of St. Ethelbert, King and Martyr", ed. M. P. James, English Historical Review, xxxii, (1917) 239; cf. Hervey, Corolla, p. ix.

directly by Mercia,[14] since no documents mention an East Anglian king again until 825.[15] At this date it is recorded in The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle that the king of East Anglia and his people appealed to Egbert of Wessex for help against the Mercians; later in the same year they killed the Mercian king in battle.[16] Mercia had already suffered defeat at the hands of Wessex before the East Anglian rising,[17] and four

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[14]There is documentary evidence for the kings of the East Anglian dynasty, which probably went back to the early sixth century (cf. R. Rainbird Clarke, East Anglia, [New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1960], pp. 130-140). St. Bede (Historia Ecclesiatica Gentis Anglorum, ed. Charles Plummer [Oxford, University Press, 1896, repr. 1966], Bk. II, ch. 5, p. 89, ch. 15, pp. 115-17, Bk. III, ch. 18, pp. 162-63), provides information about the early period. Genealogies of the East Anglian kings also exist. The value of the royal genealogy which was printed by Sweet (The Oldest English Texts [Early English Text Society, 1885], pp. 167-71), is pointed out by Stenton in "The East Anglian Kings of the Seventh Century" (The Anglo-Saxons, ed. Peter Clemoes [London, Bowes and Bowes, 1959], pp. 43-52). In this article Stenton discusses the evidence for the succession in the early period and considers some grave errors in the genealogy of the Chronicon ex Chronicis of Florence of Worcester (ed. Benjamin Thorpe, English Historical Society Publications, XIII [London, 1848], I, 249.

[15]Hodgkin, A History of the Anglo-Saxons, II, 387.

[16]The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, ed. Whitelock, under 825, p. 40.

[17]Ibid.

years later she was again overcome in battle by Egbert. After this defeat, she lost forever her former authority, and Wessex assumed the leading position in Britain south of the Humber.[18] The relation of East Anglia to Wessex at this point is not clear. She seems to have been an independent kingdom again, although her kings were to some extent under the authority of Wessex. We are not sure to how great an extent. It has been suggested by some historians that an East Anglian king of this period called Athelstan was a member of the ruling house of Wessex.[19] On the other hand, Corbett remarks in The Cambridge Medieval History that the Athelstan who ruled East Anglia during the last years of Egbert of Wessex was probably not related to this house, for East Anglia enjoyed too much independence shortly afterwards to be ruled by the kinsman of a West

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[18] Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, ed. Whitelock, under 829, pp. 40-41: cf. Hodgkin, A History of the Anglo-Saxons, II, 397-99, 402 ff.

[19] Hodgkin, A History of the Anglo-Saxons, II, 403, 740; Sir Charles Oman, England Before the Norman Conquest, (London, Methuen, 1929, 7th ed. revised), pp. 393-96, 419. These scholars associate the East Anglian king Æthelstan with the ruler who, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (ed. Whitelock, under 839, p. 41), became king of Kent, Essex, Sussex and Surrey in 839 when Ethelwulf became king of Wessex. However, William George Searle (Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum [Cambridge, University Press, 1897], p. 51), does not identify the latter Æthelstan with Æthelstan I, king of East Anglia from about 828-837. Stenton (Anglo-Saxon England, pp. 233-34), remarks that the East Anglian kings of this period were probably not known outside their own country.

Saxon overlord.[20] However, the evidence available does not permit a definite conclusion being formed.

Much of the information provided by medieval documents concerning Edmund's predecessors and family connections is not reliable. Various stories about his parentage and the circumstances of his succession to the throne appear later in the large body of literature which arose about his figure. Some of the material will be discussed further on in this paper. The authenticity of such legends, however, cannot be proved.

Since documentary evidence is deficient, it is necessary to rely on information supplied by coins for the names of King Edmund's immediate predecessors. George C. Brooke in his book English Coins discusses the numismatic evidence. He says that although this evidence has been overworked at times, coins that are identified as East Anglian have been found inscribed with the names Athelstan, Ethelweard, or Edmund as king. Brooke assigns these coins to the ninth century and works out the following chronology: Athelstan probably became king at the time of the East Anglian uprising in 825; Athelstan was followed by Ethelweard and he was in turn succeeded by Edmund.

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[20] William John Corbett, "The Foundation of the Kingdom of England, The Cambridge Medieval History, (Cambridge, University Press, 1922), III, 346.

Brooke, on the basis of the numismatic evidence, thinks that Edmund followed Ethelweard on the throne sometime between 861 and 866, during the reign of Ethelbert of Wessex.[21] No document earlier than the twelfth century Annals of St. Neots provides a date for Edmund's accession to the throne. Here it is recorded that Saint Edmund began to reign on Christmas Day 855 and was crowned on the following Christmas.[22] This earlier date for the accession is favored by some scholars.[23] The evidence, however, is not complete enough to allow us to speak with any greater certainty about the date of Edmund's accession than about his predecessors on the throne of East Anglia.

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[21]George C. Brooke, English Coins (Methuen, London, 1932), pp. 29-32. Brooke thinks certain other coins inscribed with the names of kings, such as Eadwald and Bearhtric, who are considered East Englian by some, do not belong to East Anglia at all; cf. also Hodgkin, History of the Anglo-Saxons, II, 740, n.10, for a brief discussion of the numismatic evidence.

[22]Chronicon Fani Sancti Neoti, Asser's Life of Alfred together with the Annals of Saint Neots, ed. with an Introduction and Commentary by William Henry Stevenson, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1904), p. 131; cf. Loomis, "The Growth of the Saint Edmund Legend," p. 89.

[23]Cousin, Abbon, p. 69.

Documentary evidence is also lacking for the events of Edmund's reign. The only event recorded in contemporary writings is the Danish invasion in which he met his death. This attack was part of a large scale invasion that resulted in the Danish rule of eastern England for almost 50 years. The invasion began when the great army of the Danes landed in East Anglia in 865.[24] There had already been sporadic Viking raids on England since the end of the eighth century; these grew in number and intensity from 835 onward: but in 865 a large army directed by a council of chiefs invaded England and remained there, apparently intent on the conquest and exploitation of the whole country.[25] It was only prevented from achieving this after the English had fought many years under the competent and devoted leadership of King Alfred, who succeeded in maintaining the independence of the southern and southwestern parts of England.

In 865 the Danes landed with their army in East Anglia;

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[24]Both Hodgkin (A History of the Anglo-Saxons, II, 740, n.9), and Stenton (Anglo-Saxon England, p. 244, n.3) state that they are following the chronology of the Danish invasion as it was worked out by M.R.L. Beaven (English Historical Review, xxxiii 1918 , 328-42). Beaven maintains that according to modern dating the landing of the Danish army occurred in the autumn of 865, cited in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as the year 866, and St. Edmund's death in the fall of 869, Chronicle 870, since during this period the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle was following a system of dating which made the year begin in September; cf. Whitelock, "Introduction," The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, p. xxiv; cf. also supra, p.v. n.1.

[25]Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, pp. 240 ff; Hodgkin, A History of the Anglo-Saxons, II, 517 ff.

they spent the winter there and were supplied with horses by the East Anglians, who at the time made peace with them. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle gives brief statements about the activities of the Danes in the next few years. The army left East Anglia the following year,[26] presumably in the fall, for the manoeuvres of the Danish army usually occurred in the autumn.[27] It moved to Northumbria and took York. The following autumn it left Northumbria, plundering on the way, entered Mercia, and set up winter quarters in Nottingham. The King of Mercia then appealed to Wessex, and King Ethelred with his brother Alfred led an army into Mercia to help recover Nottingham. The Danes, however, who were apparently unwilling to engage in combat at this point, remained within their earthen entrenchments, and no battle took place, for the English did not assault their defences. The Danes subsequently made peace with them and moved back to York, remaining there during the winter of 868-9. Later that year they rode across Mercia back to East Anglia. They established their winter quarters at Thetford and soon afterwards met and killed St. Edmund, the last monarch of the kingdom of East Anglia.

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[26]Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, ed. Whitelock, under 867, p. 45; cf. Hodgkin, A History of the Anglo-Saxons, II, 524-25.

[27]Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, p. 244, n.3.

[28]Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, ed. Whitelock, under 867-870, pp. 45-46; cf. Hodgkin, A History of the Anglo-Saxons, II, 530-33.

It is not entirely clear what happened in East Anglia directly after St. Edmund's death. Historians disagree to some extent about whether the Danes immediately took control of the whole region or not. Hunter Blair says that East Anglia still remained in English hands in 877.[29] On the other hand, Rainbird Clarke in his book East Anglia states that following the death of St. Edmund, East Anglia was controlled by the Danes.[30] According to Abbo, the Danes withdrew after Edmund's death, at least from the region of the martyrdom, and the people soon came out of their hiding places and searched for the saint's body to give it Christian burial.[31] According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the Danish army moved into Wessex the year following Edmund's death;[32] and the fighting began which seven years later resulted in a treaty between King Alfred and the Danish leader Guthrum.[33] Guthrum's army now received East Anglia,

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[29]Peter Hunter Blair, An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England (Cambridge, University Press, 1962), p. 74.

[30]R. Rainbird Clarke, East Anglia (New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1960), p. 156.

[31]Abbo, pp. 17 ff; French prose author, ll. 571 ff.

[32]Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, ed. Whitelock, under 871, pp. 46-47.

[33]The Danish leader Ingvar or Inwaer who according to Abbo (pp. 9 ff), and the Chronicon of Ethelweard (ed. A. Campbell, London, Thom. Nelson & Sons, 1962, p. 36), was responsible for the death of Edmund is not mentioned by any historians after the Danish army moved from East Anglia to attack Wessex; cf. Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, pp. 243-44, 247-48. Ethelweard (Chronicon, ed. Campbell, p. 36.), says that he died the same year as King Edmund.

an area which, according to another treaty made some years later to define the exact boundaries, included not only Norfolk and Suffolk but also Essex, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire and the eastern parts of Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire as well.[34] The Danes now held all of eastern England from the Thames to the Tees, for another section of the army was already firmly entrenched in the area north of Guthrum's Kingdom of East Anglia, that is the area which comprised the eastern part of Mercia and the southern part of Northumbria.

One of the conditions of the first treaty was that Guthrum should become a Christian; he did so within a few weeks, assuming the baptismal name Guthrum Athelstan.[36] About a year and a half after this event, Guthrum's Danish army moved into East Anglia and according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, "...settled there and shared out the land."[37] An Anglo-Danish society now began to be formed as the Danes settled down to make a living in the region they had occupied. The people had begun to accept

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[34]Rainbird Clarke, East Anglia, p. 158; Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, pp. 257-58.

[35]Hunter Blair, Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England, pp. 73-74; Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, pp. 245-55.

[36]Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, ed. Whitelock, under 878, pp. 49-50; cf. Hodgkin, A History of the Anglo-Saxons, II, 542, ff.

[37]Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, ed. Whitelock, under 880, p. 50.

Christianity, gradually following their leader's example.[38] However, the Danes were often disloyal to the peace treaty established by Guthrum and Alfred, and fighting occurred between them and the English many times until 917. At this date the English under Alfred's son king Edward, gained control of East Anglia.[39] Now the former kingdom of St. Edmund no longer existed independently but was made a part of Wessex, whose sovereigns later in the century achieved the unity of England.

The Development of the Legend and the Cult of St. Edmund.

Little information concerning St. Edmund's death is found in contemporary documents. The first comments are made by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and Asser's Life of King Alfred. The statement in both of these documents is very brief. The annal for the year 870 in the Chronicle simply reads:

> In this year the raiding army rode across Mercia into East Anglia and took up winter quarters at Thetford. And that winter King Edmund fought against them, and the Danes had the victory, and killed the king and conquered all the land.[40]

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[38] Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, pp. 253-55, 315-18.

[39] Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, pp. 317-25.

[40] Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, ed. Whitelock, under 870, p. 46.

Asser, who wrote his life of King Alfred about 893,[41] gives the same information;[42] his statement is drawn from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.[43] The same facts are recorded by the late tenth century chronicler Ethelweard,[44] who follows the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle closely in this section of his work.[45] Ethelweard does add, however, that Edmund's body lies entombed at Bury St. Edmunds, and under the entry for the year 900, unlike the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle or Asser, he speaks of the East Anglian king as the blessed King Edmund.[46]

Scholars have pointed out that the statement in all three of these sources seems to imply that Edmund was killed while fighting with the Danes. There is no suggestion of his voluntarily submitting to the invaders and suffering martyrdom with resignation.[47] The account of his being bound

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[41] Stevenson, Asser's Life of King Alfred together with the Annals of Saint Neots, pp. lv-lviii.

[42] Asser, De Rebus Gestis Aelfredi, ed. Stevenson, Asser's Life of King Alfred together with the Annals of Saint Neots, pp. 25-26.

[43] Stevenson, op. cit., p. 231.

[44] Ethelweard, Chronicon, ed. and trans. by A. Campbell, (London, Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd., 1962), under 870, p. 36.

[45] Campbell, "Introduction", Ethelweard's Chronicon, p. xiv.

[46] Ethelweard, Chronicon, ed. Campbell, under 900, p. 49.

[47] Cf. Loomis, "St. Edmund Legend," pp. 84-85; Porter and Baltzell, "Old French Lives of St. Edmund," pp. 81-82; Hodgkin, A History of the Anglo-Saxons, II, 531, 533; Arnold, Memorials, I, xx.

to a tree and shot with arrows after refusing to abjure Christianity is first given by abbo, who wrote about 115 years after St. Edmund's death. Abbo himself says that he is the first to write about the saint's martyrdom. He says, moreover, that he has gained his information through oral tradition, for he has learned of the martyrdom from Dunstan, who in turn heard of it as a young man at Athelstan's court from an eye witness, Edmund's former shield bearer.[48] Athelstan ruled from 924-939; the shield bearer presumably had been very young at the time of Edmund's death and thus could still have been alive in the reign of Athelstan to relate it in the presence of Dunstan, who spent time at Athelstan's court when young. Therefore, the means by which Abbo says the account of Edmund's martyrdom was transmitted to him seems plausible. Dom Patrice Cousin declares that although the discovery of the body seems to be a legend fabricated for the pilgrim route, Abbo's description of the martyrdom is reliable.[49]

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[48]Abbo, pp. 3-4.

[49]Cousin, (Abbon, pp. 71-72, n.34), cites various points of view about Abbo's version of the martyrdom; he points out that the Bollandists are disinclined to accept Abbo's account (Analecta Bollandista, 1952, p. 391). G. E. Philips, ("Edmund", Catholic Encyclopedia, [New York, Robert Appleton, 1909]V, 295), says that Edmund suffered martyrdom because the Danes tried to impose terms on him which he felt as a Christian he was unable to accept. Ulderico Vicentini in his article "Edmondo" (Enciclopedia Cattolica [Città del Vaticano, Aloisius Traglia, 1950] V, 82), makes a similar statement. Stenton, (Anglo-Saxon England, p. 246), and Hodgkin (A History of the Anglo-Saxons, p. 533), simply say that the rapid growth of St. Edmund's cult among both the Danes and the English suggests there is a basis of fact in the legend of the martyrdom.

The question remains whether it is possible to reconcile the apparent discrepancy between Abbo's account of the martyrdom and the comment on Edmund's death in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle which, it has been suggested, implies that the king died while actively engaged in combat with the Danes. However, the statement in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, "...King Edmund fought against them, and the Danes...killed the king...,"[50] does not necessarily preclude the account of the martyrdom as recorded in Abbo; it could be interpreted to mean that first there was fighting between the East Anglians and the Danes and that later King Edmund, refusing to abjure Christianity by capitulating to a pagan leader, suffered martyrdom. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle simply makes a brief notation of his death, as it does of many events, without explaining the circumstances. Moreover, these circumstances may not have been generally known at the time when the annal in the Chronicle was written. Indeed, as Abbo himself says, the martyrdom was unknown to many and still unwritten when he undertook to record it, over a hundred years later.[51] The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle's notation then, and that of Asser and Ethelweard who followed it, may be regarded not as an opposing tradition about Edmund's death, but as a brief notation of information that was not

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[50] Supra, p. 20.

[51] Abbo, p. 3.

written down in a developed form until more than a century after the event. Once recorded, Abbo's Passio Sancti Eadmundi soon became the basis for another work; within twenty years of its composition, Ælfric rendered it into old English verse.[52] In the following centuries Abbo's Latin work continued to be the source for almost all accounts of St. Edmund's death, the number of which became extensive.[53]

The exact site of St. Edmund's martyrdom is today unknown, for the identity of several ancient place names that are mentioned in the sources is uncertain. Both Abbo and the French prose author say that when Edmund was arrested by the Danes, he was staying at a town called "Haegelisdun", or "Hegeliduns". After his death the Danes hid the martyr's head in the wood of "Haegelisdun" near the town, but soon afterward the Christians found it and gave

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[52] Ælfric, "St. Edmund, King and Martyr," Lives of Saints, ed. Rev. Walter W. Skeat, "Early English Text Society" (London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. Ltd., 1890), II, 314 ff. In his Introduction to this work (pp.ix, xxvii-xxviii), Skeat points out that MS. Julius E. VII of the Cottonian collection in the British Museum, the principal manuscript used for this edition, belongs either to the early half of the eleventh century or to the period of Ælfric's lifetime. Skeat also remarks that the probable date of the Lives of Saints was 996 or 997. Ælfric himself says, in the beginning of his life of St. Edmund, that he translated the Latin life a few years after Abbo was in England.

[53] Cf. Porter and Baltzell, "Old French Lives of St. Edmund," p. 82.

it proper burial with the body.[54] Abbo and the French prose author do not say specifically where the burial place was located, although a spot near "Haegelisdun", the place of the martyrdom quite clearly seems to be meant.[55]

Unfortunately the site of "Haegelisdun" cannot be located with certainty. Abbo says that at the time of the Danish attack, Edmund was residing: Ab urbe longius, in villa quae lingua eorum Haegelisdun dicitur.[56] Arnold in a footnote to this line says that urbe refers to Bures on the northern bank of the River Stour, where the royal residence was situated, but in a marginal note to the passage he identifies "Haegelisdun" with Hoxne in northern Suffolk on the southern bank of the River Waveney.[57] Hervey disagrees with the latter identification. He points out that Abbo nowhere mentions the name Hoxne. Hervey prefers to think of Edmund's residence at the time of his death as a place somewhere in the south-eastern part of Suffolk.[58] He points out that Archdeacon Hermann in his treatise on St. Edmund,

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[54] Abbo, p. 10, cf. n.3., for variants, Haglesdun, p.16; French prose author, Hegeliduns, l. 246.

[55] Abbo, pp. 17-18; French prose author, ll. 575 ff.

[56] Abbo, p. 10.

[57] Cf. Arnold, Memorials, I, 10. Bures is now called Bures St. Mary.

[58] Hervey, The History of King Edmund the Martyr, pp. 20-21; Corolla, pp. liii-liv.

which was written late in the eleventh century, says that according to tradition, the saint's first burial place was Sutton,[59] a town on the River Deben.[60] Rainbird Clarke calls attention to the tradition of Sutton as the first burial place and also makes the interesting remark that Edmund's burial at Sutton would be "perhaps a significant and defiant reuse of the old East Anglian royal cemetery at Sutton Hoo."[61]

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[59]Hermann, "Liber de Miraculis Sancti Eadmundi," ed. Arnold, Memorials, I, 27, gives "Suthtunc" which Arnold in a marginal note also identifies as Sutton. In the preface of this work (p. 27), Hermann says that he wrote at the request of Abbot Baldwin, who died in 1097 after having been Abbot of Bury for more than thirty years; cf. Arnold, Memorials, I, xxviii-xxix. Arnold points out that little is known about Hermann; he was, no doubt, a monk at Bury St. Edmunds when he composed his work on St. Edmund and probably had been an archdeacon in the diocese of Thetford previously to this. Arnold also remarks that the earliest manuscript containing Hermann's work, MS. Tiberius B. ii, of the Cottonian collection in the British Museum, possibly belongs to the eleventh century.

[60]Cf. Hervey, St. Edmund, pp. 20-21.

[61]Rainbird Clarke, East Anglia, p. 156. The royal cemetery at Sutton Hoo consists of at least ten mounds on the east bank of the River Deben; particularly significant is the mound containing the remains of a splendid ship, which was probably a cenotaph in a previously pagan cemetery to the Christian King Anna who ruled East Anglia in the mid seventh century and died in 654 while trying to repel an invasion of the Mercian Penda. The cemetery at Sutton Hoo was situated near Rendlesham where the East Anglian kings of the seventh century were known to have had a royal residence; Clarke, East Anglia, pp. 138-39, 144-49, 157; Hodgkin, A History of the Anglo-Saxons, II, 696-734.

However, as Hervey points out, Hermann's treatise is the only source which names Sutton as the first burial place. Nevertheless, according to Hervey, another source suggests a location in south-eastern Suffolk;[62] this is La Vie Seint Edmund le Rei by Denis Piramus, the twelfth century Anglo-Norman poet. Piramus does not mention Sutton as the burial place but says that the Danes before arresting Edmund attacked a city "Orefort", which Hervey identifies as the modern Orford on the south-eastern coast of Suffolk;[63] they then seized Edmund in the town of "Hailesdun" and put him to death; afterwards they hid his head in the wood of "Hailesdun" where it was later found and buried with the body.[64] Denis Piramus does not name the site, but like Abbo, he seems to mean a spot near "Hailesdun", the place of the martyrdom.[65] Nor does he specify the exact location of "Hailesdun", but it seem to be in the general locality of "Orefort". Thus Hervey interprets the site of Edmund's death and burial in Denis Piramus as an area in south-

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[62]Hervey, St. Edmund, pp. 20-22; Corolla, pp. liii-liv.

[63]Denis Piramus, La Vie Seint Edmund le Rei, ed. Hilding Kjellman (Göteborg, Göteborgs Kungl. Vetenskaps och Vitterhets Samhälles Handlingar, 1935), ll. 2100 ff; cf. Hervey, St. Edmund, p. 20.

[64]Denis Piramus, La Vie Seint Edmund, ed. Kjellman, ll. 2336 ff, pp. 90 ff.

[65]Denis Piramus, La Vie Seint Edmund le Rei, ed. Kjellman, ll. 2351, p. 91, ll. 2580-2836, pp. 100-110.

eastern Suffolk. He also points out that according to Denis Piramus, "Hailesdun" was the name of a village, a forest and a water; Denis writes:

> "Le ham, le bois, l'euwe delé,
> Tut est Hailesdun apellé."[66]

Hervey suggests Denis may be referring to a region in the peninsula between the Deben and the Alde rivers, perhaps the area of Hollesley or some other place for which the old name is now unknown, but this is only conjecture.[67] It is well to note in this connection that the French prose author says that "Hegeliduns" was so named because of the surrounding forest and water;[68] Abbo gives no such explanation. It seems then that the French author is giving information similar to that in Denis Piramus, but it is not possible to know what the source is or to what place reference is made.

Clarke points to another possibility for "Haegelisdun", when he remarks that it has now been identified as Hellesdon on the western outskirts of Norwich; and he adds that Norwich is possibly the city which the Danish fleet first attacked on landing in East Anglia. He also observes that the king's execution here would have been most effective,

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[66]Denis Piramus, La Vie Seint Edmund, ll. 2199-2200, p. 86; cf. Hervey, Corolla, p. liv.

[67]Hervey, Corolla, pp. liii-liv; Kjellman (La Vie Seint Edmund le Rei, p. xix), cites Hervey's suggestion.

[68]French prose author, ll. 247-48.

because Norwich was a prominent town in the realm.[69] The identification of Hellesdon with "Haegelisdun" is based on the phonetic similarity of the two names. Hellesdon is regarded by specialists as a normal development of "Haegelisdun." However, in addition to the phonetic similarity of the names "Haegelisdun" and Hellesdon, there does not seem to be any other definite evidence for identifying Hellesdon as the site of St. Edmund's martyrdom.[70]

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[69]Rainbird Clarke, East Anglia, pp. 154-56.

[70]Eilert Ekwall, The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place Names (Oxford, Clarendon, 4th ed. 1960), p. 232, who gives "Hailesduna" in the Domesday Book as an intermediate form, derives Hellesdon from "Haegelisdun. Barbara Green (Keeper of Archaeology, Castle Museum, Norwich, England), has informed me by letter that Dr. O. Schram, who is Reader in English at Edinburgh University and has been working on Norfolk place-names for many years, has not found any evidence to refute Ekwall's equation of Hellesdon with "Haegelisdun." However, Philip Hepworth (City Librarian, Norwich Public Libraries, Norwich, England), remarked in a letter to me that apart from a similarity with the name "Haegelisdun" and an uncertainty about the place of St. Edmund's death, he does not know any evidence to support the suggestion that Hellesdon was the site of the martyrdom.

From the thirteenth century onward Hoxne appears frequently in documents as the place of Edmund's martyrdom and first burial. In the chronicle attributed to Roger Wendover Hoxne is associated with "Haegelisdun". The writer says that King Edmund was buried near the place of his martyrdom, which the inhabitants now call "Hoxen" but which he also refers to in the chronicle as "Haeilesdune".[71] John Lydgate in his poem on St. Edmund, gives "Oxne" as the first burial place and "Heylesdone" as the wood where the head was hidden.[72]

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[71]Cf. Hervey, St. Edmund, p. 22. Roger of Wendover, Chronica sive Flores Historiarum, ed. H. O. Coxe, The English Historical Society, I, (London, 1841), reprinted in Hervey, Corolla, pp. 184-94; cf. Rev. R. C. Manning, "Hoxne Priory", Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History, (Ipswich, 1888), VII, xxix.

[72]John Lydgate, Life of St. Edmund, ed. Hervey, Corolla, pp. 477-80. Hoxne has been traditionally associated with the martyrdom of St. Edmund in modern times. P.G.M. Dickinson, (Suffolk, 6th ed. based on an original guide by W.A. Dutt, The Little Guides [London, Methuen, 1957], pp. 198-99), notes an entry to the following effect in an issue of the Bury Post in 1848. In August 1848 a large oak, according to tradition the one to which St. Edmund was bound, fell down and in its heart a curved piece of iron, possibly an arrow, was found; upon examination, the annual rings indicated that the tree was about 1,000 years old, thus bearing evidence to the tradition that St. Edmund was killed at Hoxne. The site is now marked by a modern inscription which reads:

> "St. Edmund, king and martyr,
> Noer. 20th, A.D. 870 - oak tree fell
> August, 1848, by its own weight."

cf. Manning, "Hoxne Priory", Proceedings of Suffolk Institute of Archaeology, VII, xli.

Not only the location of the place where the Danes arrested Edmund in East Anglia but also the direction from which they made their approach on the kingdom poses a problem for historians.[73] The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle which is followed by Asser,[74] Ethelweard,[75] and some later chroniclers such as the twelfth century writer Henry of Huntingdon,[76] says that the Danes, entering East Anglia with an army by way of Mercia, set up their base at Thetford; Edmund met them somewhere in the general vicinity of this town, and was killed. However, Abbo,[77] and others like Denis Piramus[78] say that the Danes approached by sea, as has been pointed out above. Hervey points out that the twelfth century document the Annals of St. Neots[79] reconciles the two conflicting statements by saying that one Danish force lead by Ingvar attacked the coast and put St. Edmund to death, and

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[73] Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, ed. Whitelock, under 870, p. 46.

[74] Asser, Life of King Alfred, ed. Stevenson, p. 26.

[75] Ethelweard, Chronicon, ed. Campbell, under 869, 870, p. 36.

[76] Henry of Huntingdon, Historiae Anglorum, ed. Thomas Arnold (London, Rolls Series, 1879), Bk. V, p. 144; cf. Thomas Arnold, "Introduction" to Henry Huntingdon, p. xlix.

[77] Abbo, pp. 9-10.

[78] Denis Piramus, La Vie St. Edmund le Rei, ed. Kjellman, ll. 2100 ff, pp. 82, 88.

[79] Annals of St. Neots, ed. Stevenson, under 870, pp. 133-34; cf. Hervey, Corolla, pp. l-li.

subsequently another force entering East Anglia from Mercia wintered at Thetford and subdued all of Edmund's kingdom. Clarke remarks that, although it is impossible to know the exact manoeuvres of the Danish army, it may be understood that a twofold approach of this kind was probably made,[80] as the Danish forces took control of the kingdom following the death of its ruler.

Soon after King Edmund's martyrdom, his veneration as a saint began, not only among the East Anglians but also among the Danes who put him to death. The earliest evidence for the development of St. Edmund's cult is numismatic. Many East Anglian coins inscribed with Sc. Eadmund Rex have been found. It is suggested that these coins were struck by the Danes who settled in East Anglia during the period after Edmund's death. Brooke in his book English Coins remarks that memorial coinages seem to have been popular with the Danes, but that the one of St. Edmund is the earliest of its kind.[81] It is not possible to know the exact years in which the coins were struck. However, some of them bear the names of the moneyers of the first Danish King of East Anglia, Guthrum Athelstan. This king died, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,[82] in 890; the coins struck by his moneyers,

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[80] Rainbird Clarke, East Anglia, pp. 154-56; cf. Hodgkin, A History of the Anglo-Saxons, II, 533.

[81] George Brooke, English Coins, (London, Methuen, 1932), pp. 31-32.

[82] Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, ed. Whitelock, under 890, p.53.

therefore, were probably made before this date. Some of the coins, moreover, come from the famous Cuerdale find, which is dated 905 at the latest.[83] The St. Edmund memorial coins are indeed evidence of the development of the cult of the saint within at least the first quarter of a century after his death.

Another piece of evidence for the early development of the cult of St. Edmund is a mid-tenth century charter, providing for the care of a shrine which had been established at Beodricsworth when his body was moved there.[84] The charter

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[83] Stevenson, Asser's Life of King Alfred, p. 231-32, who cites British Museum Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins, i, p.xxix.

[84] "Charter of King Edmund," ed. Thomas Arnold, Memorials I, 340. The version of the charter which Arnold gives is preserved, as he explains (pp. lxi, lxviii, 340), in a margin of a MS. of the twelfth century chronicle of Marianus Scotus, that is Florence of Worcester, which was apparently copied at Bury St. Edmunds. The manuscript is now in the Bodleian Library, and is referred to as MS. Bodley 297. Arnold says that the version of the charter preserved here is the best in existence. Sigbert, king of East Anglia, founded a school and a monastery at Beodricsworth in the early seventh century (Bede, Historia Ecclesiastica, ed. Plummer, Bk. III, ch. 18, pp. 162-63); but this monastery had no connection with the later abbey (Hervey, Corolla, p. xxxv). There is no record of monastic life of any kind in Beodricsworth until the tenth century; cf. H.J.M. Maltby ("Bury St. Edmunds," Proceedings, The Archaeological Journal, CVIII [London, 1951], 160), who also points out that after St. Edmund's tomb had been moved to Beodricsworth, or Beodericesworthe, the name began to change to Bury St. Edmunds, but the present name did not come into general use until the eighteenth century. Arnold, Memorials, i, iv, n.2), explains the name beodricsworth as 'the estate of Beodric'; Hervey (St. Edmund, p. 23) states that opinions differed in medieval times about the identity of Beodric. Archdeacon Hermann, (Liber de Miraculis Sancti Eadmundi, ed. Arnold, Memorials, I, 33), explains that according to tradition, Beodricsworth was named for a certain Beodric, 'a king of East Anglia'; but as Hervey points out, there is no record of this king.

was issued by King Edmund in 945 and granted the town of Beodricsworth to the clerks who guarded the saint's tomb. The following passage from the charter gives the gist of the king's grant:

> "...ad monasterium quod situm est in loco qui dicitur Badericeswirthe, in quo sanctus Eadmundus rex et martyr quiescit corpore, terram quae circa illum locum esse videtur libenter tribuo et aeternaliter persistat..." [85]

The charter which was granted in 945 indicates that St. Edmund's shrine at Beodricsworth must have been established some time before that date. Abbo and the French prose author say that after miracles were wrought at St. Edmund's first tomb in "Haegelesdun", where a small chapel had been built, his body was brought to the royal town of Beodricsworth,[86] and a large wooden church was erected there in his honor. Upon its removal to the new church, the coffin was opened and the saint's body was found incorrupt and whole.[87] Abbo, and the French prose author, however, do not say at what date this took place. Arnold interprets a passage in Hermann as saying that it occurred during the reign of Athelstan.[88] The passage in Hermann reads:

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[85]"Charter of King Edmund", ed. Arnold, Memorials, I 340.

[86]Abbo, (p.19), gives the Latin as "Bedrici-curtis", the English as "Bedrices-gueord". The French prose author (l. 677), gives "Bedritegord".

[87]Abbo, pp. 19-20; French prose author ll. 661-689.

[88]Arnold, Memorials, I, 30, n.a.

> Praefato itaque Æthelstano regna moderante, Deique gratia condonante, orientalis rex et martyr (Eadmundus) in Beodrici villa pausans sibi propria, jamjam declaratur sanctus virtute signorum splendescens usquequaque notificatus.[89]

Hervey, on the other hand, does not think this passage means that the translation of Edmund's body took place during Athelstan's reign but rather that his sanctity was then proclaimed, after his body had rested at Beodricsworth for some time. Hervey suggests that the body may have been moved as early as King Alfred's reign.[90] Certain dates are given in a passage of the Vita et Passio cum Miraculis Sancti Eadmundi. This treatise is a long compilation of various chronicles, histories, and legends, which contains certain information drawn from sources no longer available; it is preserved in a late fourteenth century manuscript known as MS. Bodley 240.[91] This work says that the body of St. Edmund was moved from the first tomb to a wooden church in "Bedricesworthe", that is Beodricsworth, either about 900,

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[89] Hermann, Liber de Miraculis Sancti Eadmundi, ed. Arnold, pp. 29-30; Arnold, (p.30, n.1), says to read pausans in place of pulsans.

[90] Hervey, St. Edmund, pp. 22-23.

[91] Vita et Passio cum Miraculis Sancti Eadmundi, MS. Bodley 240; the first part of the work, that treating Edmund's life and martyrdom, and the establishment of the shrine at Beodricsworth are printed in Hervey, Corolla, pp. 377-408. The complete work has been printed by C. Horstman, Nova Legenda Anglie (Oxford, 1901), pp. 573-688; cf. Arnold, Memorials, I, lxv.

during the time of King Alfred, or in 906 during the reign of King Edward.[92] However, in the light of the statement made by Abbo and the French author, namely that the body was translated to the new church in Beodricsworth subsequent to the beginning of peaceful times,[93] it seems more reasonable to place the date later in the reign of Edward, some time after 918, when the fighting with the Danes had ceased in southern England. In any case the tomb of St. Edmund was situated in Beodricsworth by 945 and was under the care of clerks, as the charter of King Edmund indicates.

When the Danes renewed their attacks on England during the early years of the eleventh century before the reign of Cnut, a certain monk named Egelwin, fearing an attack on St. Edmund's shrine in Beodricsworth, took up the saint's coffin and wandered about with it until he found sanctuary in St. Gregory's church in London. The body lay in repose there temporarily, and many miracles were reported to have been performed at the tomb. The saint's body was returned to Beodricsworth at the end of three years, when the danger of Danish attack was over. A vivid account of Egelwin's

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[92] Vita et Passio cum Miraculis Sancti Eadmundi, MS. Bodley 240, ed. Hervey, Corolla, pp. 405, 407. Two manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, (ed. Whitelock, under 900, p. 58), say Alfred died in October of the year 900, four others say 901; cf. supra p.v, n.1.

[93] Abbo, p. 19; French prose author, ll. 661-670.

wanderings is given first by the late eleventh century writer Archdeacon Hermann,[94] and later by Abbot Samson,[95] the celebrated abbot of Bury St. Edmund's from 1182-1212, both of whom wrote long treatises on miracles wrought at St. Edmund's shrine.

The courageous Egelwin's flight with St. Edmund's body calls to mind the monks escaping from Lindisfarne with the body of the great hermit-bishop St. Cuthbert during the Danish raids of 875. There are indeed several ways in which the two saints can be compared.[96] Abbo and the French author emphasize how St. Edmund and St. Cuthbert were alike in that the bodies of both remained incorrupt after death.[97] During the course of centuries after their death, the tombs of both became two of the greatest shrines in England.

In the early years of Cnut's reign, the clerks at the shrine of St. Edmund were replaced by Benedictine monks from the monasteries of Ely and St. Benet Hulme.[98] A similar substitution of regular clergy for clerks had taken place in churches and monasteries all over England after the

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[94]Hermann, Liber de Miraculis Sancti Eadmundi, ed. Arnold, Memorials, I, 32-37.

[95]Samson, Opus de Miraculis Sancti Eadmundi, ed. Arnold, Memorials, I, 114-19.

[96]Arnold, Memorials, I, xiii-xiv.

[97]Abbo, p.4; French prose author, ll. 55-62.

[98]Arnold, Memorials, I, xxvii.

beginning of the ecclesiastical reform. The change at Bury occurred in 1020 with the approval of King Cnut. Reference is made to it in Hermann's treatise and in a margin of MS. Bodley 297.[99] The wooden church at Bury was at this time replaced by one of stone at the order of Cnut and was consecrated in 1032. We also learn of the consecration from an insertion in the same manuscript Bodley 297.[100] In 1028, before the completion of the new church, Cnut granted a Charter of Liberties to the monastery declaring that St. Edmund's shrine was to be left in the charge of monks who were to be free from episcopal jurisdiction,[101] and a few years later Edward the Confessor greatly extended the power of the abbey by granting it jurisdiction over about one

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[99] Hermann, Liber de Miraculis Sancti Eadmundi, ed. Arnold, Memorials, I, 47; passages in MS. Bodley 297, ed. Arnold, Memorials, I, 342. This manuscript is the one which contains the "Charter of King Edmund" mentioned on p.xlii,n.84. Further indication of the growth of the cult is given by Loomis, ("St. Edmund Legend," p. 84), who cites Richard Stanton (A Menology of England and Wales [London, 1887], pp. 675 ff), mentioning two calendars dated about 1050 which refer to Edmund. They are: A Calendar of Canterbury Cathedral, Arundel MS. 155, and A Calendar of Hyde Abbey or Newminster, Winchester. Loomis also cites Herzog (ed. Real Encyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche [Stuttgart, 1855], III, 648), saying that a national council at Oxford in 1122 placed the feast of St. Edmund among the English saints' days. The feast of St. Edmund is November 20.

[100] Passages in MS. Bodley 297, ed. Arnold, Memorials, I, 342.

[101] This charter is also inserted in a margin of MS. Bodley 297 and is edited by Arnold, Memorials, I, 342; cf. Hervey, (Corolla, p. 597), for a consideration of the date of the charter.

third of Suffolk.[102] In 1095 still another church was built under the direction of Abbot Baldwin and the body of St. Edmund was translated to it in a solemn ceremony which is described in Hermann.[103] The building then constructed was the great abbey church, of which a few remains still stand in Bury to the present day.[104]

After the installation of the monks in the time of Cnut, the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds quickly became one of the greatest in England.[105] The shrine of the saint was one of the most cherished in the country throughout the Middle Ages. The abbey was particularly favored by the crown, and many kings made frequent visits there. It became a great center of intellectual life, for it possessed a most active monastic scriptorium, which produced much hagiographical and historical writing, and it had one of the greatest libraries in England.[106]

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[102]Arnold, Memorials, I, xxviii.

[103]Hermann, Liber de Miraculis Sancti Eadmundi, ed. Arnold, Memorials, I, 84-90.

[104]Arnold, Memorials, I, xxxii-xxxiv. The church was burned out by accident in 1465; after the Dissolution in 1539, the abbey was sold by letters patent, and the Abbot's Palace survived as a house until 1720; cf. A.B. Whittingham, "Bury St. Edmunds Abbey," Proceedings, The Arch. Journal, CVIII, 168; cf. Sir William Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, ed. John Caley, Sir Henry Ellis and Rev. Bulkeley Bandinel (London, James Bohn, 1846), III, 116 ff.

[105]Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, p. 70.

[106]Cf. Antonia Grandsen, "Introduction," The Chronicle of Bury St. Edmunds (London, Thomas Nelson Ltd., 1964), pp. xi-xvi.

During the twelfth century various previously unrecorded facts about St. Edmund's life, such as the identity of his parents, the circumstances under which he came to the throne and the reasons for the Danish attack on East Anglia, began to appear in the rapidly growing body of literature about the saint. So many elaborations and accretions continued to appear through succeeding centuries that the development of the St. Edmund legend has been compared to the evolution of the French cyclical romances of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[107]

The first particulars of the childhood and parentage of Saint Edmund are found in the Liber de Infantia Sancti Eadmundi[108] by Gaufridus de Fontibus or Geoffrey of Wells, who wrote about the middle of the twelfth century.[109] Gaufridus said he obtained his information from oral tradition.[110]

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[107] Porter and Baltzell, "Old French Lives of Saint Edmund," p. 83; Irene P. McKeehan, "St. Edmund of East Anglia: The Development of a Romantic Legend," Colorado Studies, XV (1925), 13-14; Porter and Baltzell (p.83, n.14) also cite Cyril E. Wright, The Cultivation of Saga in Anglo-Saxon England (Edinburgh and London, 1939), pp. 58-63, 117-121 and passim.

[108] Cf. Loomis, "Saint Edmund Legend," p. 90. Gaufridus de Fontibus, Liber de Infantia Sancti Eadmundi, ed. Arnold, Memorials, I, pp. 93-103.

[109] Arnold, I, pp.xxxiv-xxv.

[110] Gaufridus, De Infantia, pp. 93-94; cf. Arnold, (Memorials, I, xxxv), who points out that Gaufridus probably belonged to the house of regular canons in the patronage of St. Edmund at Thetford and that Gaufridus himself says he received his information about St. Edmund in conversation with these canons.

The account given by him is briefly this: Saint Edmund's immediate predecessor on the throne was Offa, who should not be confused with Offa, the powerful ruler of Mercia, or Offa, the pious king of the East Saxons. Edmund's predecessor Offa had no heir and went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem to pray for one; on his way to the Holy Land, he stopped in Saxony, where a relative of his was king; while there he was very impressed by the charm and intelligence of the king's young son Edmund, and before he continued his journey, he presented the youth with a ring asking him at the same time to fulfill a request he might make in the future. On the way home from the Holy Land he became fatally ill, and on his death bed, he made his courtiers swear that they would summon Edmund to be king of East Anglia. Edmund's father, influenced by a prophecy that a noble Roman matron had once made concerning the future greatness of his son, gave his consent for Edmund to leave home. Edmund set sail with the English for East Anglia. Upon landing there on the northern coast, they crossed a dried up river near the shore where twelve springs with curative power arose after Edmund prayed for rain. Later he erected a royal residence there; the township is called Hunstanton. Because of dissension caused by neighboring kings, there was a delay before Edmund was officially recognised as ruler, but after a years' time, he was elected king; he was crowned on Christmas Day at

Bures, a royal town on the border of Essex and Suffolk on the River Stour.[111]

Similar information about Edmund's childhood and his coming to England is given in Denis Piramus's La Vie Seint Edmund le Rei.[112] The same tradition was perpetuated by later works, in which further details are found. In the Vita et Passio cum Miraculis Sancti Eadmundi of MS. Bodley 240, the name of Edmund's parents and his native city are given for the first time;[113] his father's name was Alkmund, his mother's Siwara, and he was born in the Saxon city of Nuremberg in 841.[114] It is not known who first made the error of placing Nuremberg in Saxony;[115] however, in John Lydgate's long poem on St. Edmund,[116] this city isalso said to be the place where Edmund the son of the Saxon king Alkmund and Queen Siwara

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[111]Gaufridus, De Infantia, ed. Arnold, Memorials, I, 94-101.

[112]Denis Piramus, La Vie Seint Edmund le Rei, ed. Kjellman, ll. 433-1788, pp. 19-71.

[113]Loomis, "Saint Edmund Legend," p. 98.

[114]Vita et Passio cum Miraculis Sancti Eadmundi, in MS. Bodley 240, ed. Hervey, Corolla, pp. 379-80.

[115]Cf. Loomis, "Saint Edmund Legend," p. 98.

[116]Book I of Lydgate's poem on St. Edmund, (ed. Hervey, Corolla, pp. 412-447), is an account of Edmund's life until the Viking invasion. The same account of Edmund's childhood and the circumstances under which he became king are given in De Sancto Edmundo Rege et Martyre in MS. Bodley Tanner 15 (ed. Arnold, Memorials, III, 348 ff), which Loomis ("Saint Edmund Legend," p. 106), thinks was probably composed by the fifteenth century writer of Saints' lives, John Capgrave.

was born. Lydgate undoubtedly knew the version given in MS. Bodley 240, as he gives a similar account and adds no important information not contained in it. Indeed Lydgate's poem, written for the visit of Henry VI to Bury at Christmas 1432,[117] is considered the culmination of the development of the literature on St. Edmund.[118]

Loomis points out that the account first found in Gaufridus about Edmund's childhood and the circumstances under which he became king could have arisen from a misinterpretation of certain statements made by Abbo. In his Passio Sancti Eadmundi Abbo gave the following information about Edmund:

> ...ex Antiquorum Saxonum nobili prosapia oriundus.....Qui atavis regibus editus, cum bonis polleret moribus, omnium comprovincialium unanimi favore non tantum eligitur ex generis successione, quantum rapitur, ut eis praeesset sceptrigera potestate.[119]

Loomis with justification remarks that the mention of Edmund's descent from the Old Saxons does not necessarily indicate continental origin, nor does the statement that he was not so much chosen according to the regular succession

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[117] Lydgate, ed. Hervey, Corolla, p. 414.

[118] Cf. Loomis, "Saint Edmund Legend," pp. 100-103; Porter and Baltzell, "Old French Lives of Saint Edmund," p. 81.

[119] Abbo, p. 7; cf. French prose author, ll. 133-142.

as forced to rule over them mean that Edmund was outside of the regular line of descent.[120]

Like La Vie Seint Aymon,[121] some other later texts follow Abbo and contain none of the additional information given by Gaufridus. The twelfth century Anglo-Norman poem La Passiun de Seint Edmund, which follows Abbo's account very closely, makes the same statement about Edmund's origin as that contained in the latter text.[122] Loomis remarks that in The Golden Legend, William Caxton, when adding the life of St. Edmund in his rendition of the French version of Jacobus de Voragine, gives the information found in Abbo's account rather than that appearing in most later works.[123]

Scattered information about the relatives of Edmund in other sources points to his English origin. The Polychronicon of Ranulph Higden and the translation by John Trevisa mention a brother of Edmund, Edwold by name, who after Edmund's death retired from the world and lived

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[120] Loomis, "Saint Edmund Legend," p. 91.

[121] French prose author, ll. 133-142.

[122] La Passiun de Seint Edmund ed. Nabert, ll. 157-172, p. 29; cf. Porter and Baltzell, ("Old French Lives of Saint Edmund," p. 84), who remark that the text is contained in MS. 435 of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.

[123] Loomis, "Saint Edmund Legend," p. 106.

as a hermit in a monastery in Dorsetshire.[124] John Lydgate devotes the third book of his poem to the life of Edmund's nephew St. Fremund, who was also killed by the Danes.[125] According to Lydgate, St. Fremund was the son of St. Edmund's sister Botild. Hervey points out that the mention of Edmund's relatives in England would seem to point to the king's English origin.[126] Furthermore, Hervey sees an indication of Edmund's English origin in the Middle English romance Athelston,[127] a work preserved in a manuscript of the second half of the fourteenth century.[128] In this romance Edmund is born miraculously immediately after his mother, condemned by her brother Athelston, the English king, has undergone trial by ordeal of fire. She is exonerated after the trial and her son Edmund is made heir to the throne.[129]

A further addition to the legend of St. Edmund is found in Gaufridus's explanation for the Viking attack upon

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[124] Ranulph Higden, Polychronicon, together with the English translation of John Trevisa, ed. J.R. Lumby (London, Rolls Series, 1876), VI, 344-45.

[125] Lydgate's poem on St. Edmund, ed. Hervey, Corolla, Book III, pp. 482-83. Only short passages of Book III are printed in Hervey.

[126] Hervey, Corolla, p. lxi.

[127] Athelston, ed. A. McI. Trounce, London, Oxford, 1951.

[128] Cf. Loomis, "Saint Edmund Legend," p. 104, n.2.

[129] Cf. Hervey, Corolla, pp. xli-xlviii.

England.[130] According to this, Hingvar, the magician Ubbe, and Wern, the sons of the famous and wealthy Dane Lodbrok, out of jealousy, attacked East Anglia with a large force, after having been provoked by their father who said that their prowess and achievements were nothing in comparison with those of King Edmund.[131] The work of Gaufridus ends at this point, and the writer refers his readers to Abbo for an account of St. Edmund's martyrdom. Denis Piramus, following the general lines of Gaufridus's account, gives the same explanation for the Danish attack on East Anglia.[132] The chronicles attributed to the thirteenth century writer Roger of Wendover, and his follower Matthew Paris[133] offer another explanation for the Danes Hingvar and Hubba invading England and killing Edmund.[134] In these chronicles the two Danes are also called the sons of Lodbrok or

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[130]Cf. Loomis, " The Growth of the Saint Edmund Legend," pp. 90-91.

[131]Gaufridus, De Infantia, ed. Arnold, Memorials, I, 102-3.

[132]Denis Piramus, La Vie Seint Edmund le Rei, ed. Kjellman, ll. 1879-2084; cf. Loomis, "The Growth of the Saint Edmund Legend," pp. 95-96.

[133]Cf. Richard Vaughan, Matthew Paris (Cambridge, University Press, 1958), pp. 9, 21, ff.

[134]Cf. Grant Loomis, "Saint Edmund and the Lodbrok Legend," Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature, XV (Cambridge, 1933), pp. 1-2, 5, and "The Growth of the Saint Edmund Legend," p. 92.

Lothbrok, who is now identified as a member of the Danish royal family. The sons invaded East Anglia and killed Edmund to avenge the death of their father, for Lodbrok, shipwrecked at Edmund's country, had been killed there by Bern, who had subsequently falsely accused Edmund of the deed to his sons Hingvar and Hubba.[135] The jealously and vengeance themes later appear combined in the Vita et Passio cum Miraculis Sancti Eadmundi[136] and in the long poem by John Lydgate.[137]

Loomis remarks that he was unable to find a source in Norse saga for Wendover's account of Lodbrok's shipwreck and murder.[138] According to the usual Scandinavian tradition some of the sons of Ragnar Lodbrok invaded Northumbria to avenge the death of their father, who had been cruelly put to death by Ella, the king of that region.[139]

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[135]Roger of Wendover, Chronica sive Flores Historiarum, ed. Coxe, printed in Hervey, Corolla, pp. 184-94; Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, ed. H. R. Luard, (London, Rolls Series, 1872), I, 393-395.

[136]Vita et Passio cum Miraculis Sancti Eadmundi, MS. Bodley 240, ed. Hervey, Corolla, pp. 386-89.

[137]John Lydgate's poem on St. Edmund, ed. Hervey, Corolla, pp. 447-457.

[138]Cf. Loomis, "Saint Edmund and the Lodbrok Legend," pp. 3-6.

[139]Cf. Loomis, "Saint Edmund and the Lodbrok Legend," pp. 9-13. McKeehan ("St. Edmund of East Anglia," p. 38), remarks that Ragnar Lodbrok or Lothbrog, a nickname meaning 'shaggy-breeches' is regularly called Ragnar in the Scandinavian versions of his saga, but in the English chronicles and versions of the St. Edmund story, he is always referred to as Lothbrocus, Lothbroc, Lodebrok, and once Lodebroth.

Historical information about the sons of Lodbrok who invaded England is not very definite. The early sources do not identify the leaders of the Danish invasion of 875 as Lodbrok's sons, and their names are only given incidentally. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle refers to the Viking leader Ivar, whose name is equivalent to Hingvar, and his brothers without saying who their father is.[140] The Chronicon of Ethelweard mentions Iuuar, or Inwaer, as the leader who killed King Edmund and adds that he died the same year as the East Anglian king.[141] Abbo says that the Danish commanders responsible for St. Edmund's death were Ingvar and Hubba, but he does not say that they were the sons of Lodbrok or even that they were brothers; nor does he mention a jealousy or vengeance motive in connection with

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[140]The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (ed. Whitelock, under 878, p. 49) reads:

> And the same winter the brother of Ivar and Healfdene was in the kingdom of the West Saxons in Devon, with 23 ships. And he was killed there... ;

cf. Whitelock (Anglo-Saxon Chronicle), p. 49, n.5.

[141]Ethelweard, Chronicon, ed. Campbell, under 870, p. 36.

their attack on East Anglia.[142] Other works such as La Vie Seint Aymon,[143] the Anglo-Norman poem La Passiun de Seint Edmund,[144] and Caxton's life of St. Edmund, which are all based on Abbo, do not do so either.

However, in spite of the lack of definite early references, many historians think that the Ingvar and Hubba whom Abbo mentions as leaders of the Danish invasion were probably the sons of the Viking sea king Ragnar Lodbrok , a celebrated personality in Norse tradition and also, like his sons, a familiar figure in Christian annals because of his attacks on western Europe. Historians furthermore agree that although additional motives may have influenced Lodbrok's sons in their attack on England, the leading motive of their enterprise was no doubt a desire for food and plunder.[146]

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[142] Abbo, pp. 8-9; a late manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle names Ingvare and Ubba as the Viking leaders responsible for Edmund's death; Whitelock Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, p. 46, n.6; Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, p. 244, n.2.

[143] French prose author, ll. 170-218.

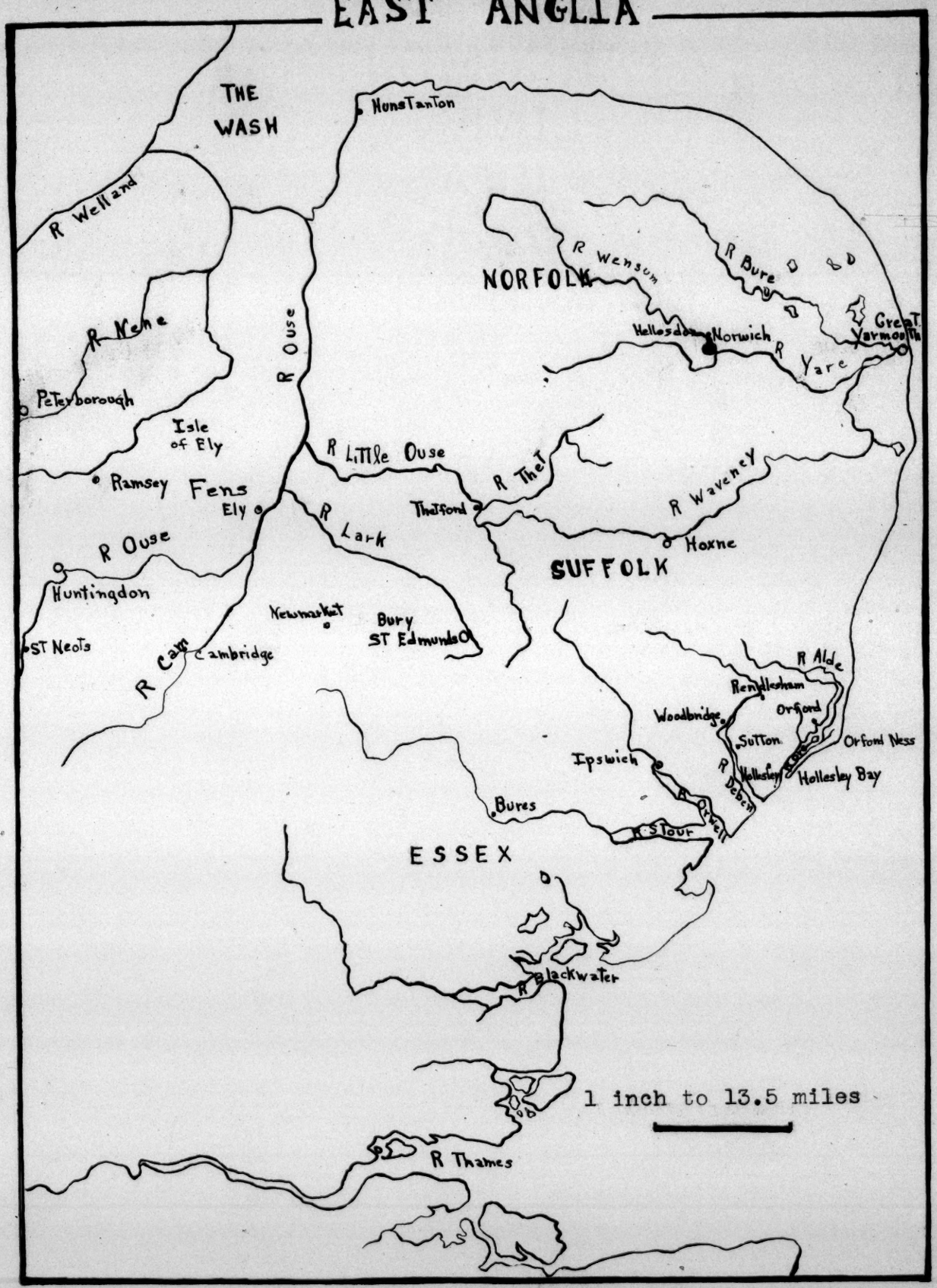
[144] La Passiun de Seint Edmund, ed. Nabert, ll. 197-240.

[145] Cf. Loomis ("Saint Edmund Legend," p. 106), who cites William Caxton, The Golden Legend, ed. Ellis, VI, 243-36.

[146] For a discussion of the historical Ragnar Lodbrok and his sons, see: Hodgkin, A History of the Anglo-Saxons, II, 502-5, 519-28, 739-41; Stenton, Anglo-Saxn England, p.244; Loomis, "Saint Edmund and the Lodbrok Legend," pp. 19-23. For a discussion of Ragnar Lodbrok as a figure in Scandinavian heroic legend, see: Axel Olrik, The Heroic Legends of Denmark, New York, The American-Scandinavian Foundation,1919.

The previously summarized developments of the St. Edmund legend are the most important additions to the original version of the legend as it was recorded by Abbo. Although it was written during a period when many of these developments were appearing in the large body of literature which was growing up about St. Edmund, La Vie Seint Aymon does not contain any of them, for it always follows Abbo's account closely.

EAST ANGLIA



(The Times Atlas of the World)

LINGUISTIC TRAITS OF THE AUTHOR

It has been suggested that La Vie Seint Aymon in MS. fonds français 17229 of the Bibliothèque Nationale may be the autograph copy.[1] In the ensuing analysis, this suggestion has been followed for the reason previously stated, namely that La Vie Seint Aymon appears in no extant manuscript except MS. B.N. fr. 17229, although most of the content of this manuscript corresponds with that in several others.[2] Unfortunately linguistic reasons do not provide conclusive evidence in deciding this matter, since it is most difficult in a prose text to differentiate between the language of a scribe and that of the author.

Phonology and Orthography

Paul Meyer remarked that La Vie Seint Aymon was written in Artois, probably in Arras.[3] However, the text reveals scarcely any phonological features characteristic of Artois or Picard. Only one northern feature appears quite

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[1]Porter and Baltzell, "Old French Lives of St. Edmund," p. 87.

[2]Supra, p. vii.

[3]Meyer, "Légendes hagiographiques," pp. 416, 420.

consistently throughout, namely iau for Standard Old French eau: biauté 143, chastiaux 441, postiaux 724, etc., also: iaues 247, but with variants eves 126, d'eve 761.

The development of Late Latin tonic free close o before r is usually recorded as o, a form which occurs in Picard[4]: chalor 155, greignor 171, 853, plusor 199, seignor 24, 182, etc., but other spellings also occur: chaleur 495, empereeur 299, seigneur 306, poour 314, 338.

The following Picard forms also appear: fiulz 396, with vocalization of l after i, but fill 810; jone 25, 237[5], jones 34, 791, without the development of a diphthong as in Standard Old French; traveillanz 82, traveillier 860, with the development of a vocalic glide and the subsequent raising of ai>ei, might possibly be considered northern forms[6], but travaill 68, travaillierent 466, are also found.

The language of the text, then, is for the most part that of Standard Old French. The spelling indicates the following vocalic developments characteristic of the language in the thirteenth century:

monophthongization of ai to e, except where final or

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[4]Cf. Pierre Fouché, Phonétique historique du francais, (Paris, Klincksieck, 1958), II, 307, Rem. VI.

[5]Cf. Milan S. La Du, "Introduction," Le Prise de Defur et Le Voyage d'Alexandre au Paradis Terrestre, ed. Lawton P. G. Peckham and Milan S. La Du (Princeton, University Press, 1935), p. lix.

[6]Fouché, Phonétique historique du français, II, 346.

followed by a vowel: fez 8, fesoit 2, mes 468, detret 578, verai 24, saietes 550, etc., but: seete 479, pleiz 157; the Latin suffix -arium becomes -ier in marreglier 740, -iere in a corresponding feminine form in maniere 7,[7] but in learned words -aire or -ere: aversaire 175, seintuaires 642, contreres 744;

lowering of nasal e to a: fames 223, serjanz 434, langue 625; engoisse 594, although etymological spelling is more often used: dedenz 123, tormenz 276, conmencier 385;

raising of nasal ai to ei: seint 58, humeinne 627, soudeinne 820, etc., but: umaine 162, souverains 238;

the othography consistently represents the change from ei to oi: roi 10, croire 50, tonnoires 296, etc.

The othography of certain other vowels, although for the most part regular, reveals a certain amount of fluctuation:

eu is the regular graphy, except before r, for the sound developed from the Late Latin free tonic close o: glorieus 48, merveilleuse 114, seul 519, but arosent 127;

ou is regular for the development of Late Latin tonic checked close o: doute 57, secours 77, toute 115, etc., but also jor 31, 68, toz 475;

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[7] Cf. Fouché, Phonétique historique du français, II, 414-415.

ue is regular for the development of Late Latin tonic free open o except in initial position where the graphy is oe or oeu: pueple 80, orgueill 147, duel 579, oeus 101, oeuvres 169, but also eulz 165, poet 743;

ou usually appears for the development of Late Latin countertonic open and close o except before r where it is very often written o: arousez 5, coustume 20, nouveles 236, morir 355, corbez 735, but also dolent 472, hoër 730, sovent 836;

y is used sporadically in place of i: phylosophie 45, martyr 73, yglise 740, but also l'iglise 730, martir 612; y usually appears in Aymon 25, but occasionally i: Haimon 9;

i often appears after a and o followed by palatal n: Bretaingne 115, montaingne 190, aigniaus 510, sessoingne 75, besoingne 416; this spelling may suggest a vocalic glide development but may simply be an orthographic variant for palatal n.[8]

Consonant spelling, although generally quite regular, also fluctuates to some extent.

Sometimes q is employed instead of the traditional graphy qu: qi 11, jusq'au 72, qant 362, etc., q or qu occasionally instead of c: qar 149, quemunement 603, quar 610.

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[8]Cf. Pope, From Latin to Modern French (Manchester, University Press, 1934), p. 162, §408, p. 172, §442.

The use of h fluctuates in the spelling: honeste 68, humeinne 627, but umaine 162, ignes 650, Haymon 178, habondance 648; h is inserted between two vowels in loihier 849, but it is not usually employed to indicated hiatus.

The voiced palatal alveolar affricate (dž), which was being reduced to a fricative during the thirteenth century[9] is represented before the front vowels e and i by g and elsewhere by i:[10] genz 198, ge 70, i'oi 62, ior 68, ia 408, serianz 419, etc.; there is one exception, rivache 267, to the regular spelling of the suffix -age: mesage 280, corages 408.

Vocalized l is regularly represented by u: ceus 10, paume 526, douce 470, etc.; l is sometimes inserted after u: d'euls 215, veult 376; when followed by s, the two are sometimes represented by x: biax 143; occasionally simply l appears: defaltes 70, cols 504, colpa 518.

Palatalized l is regularly represented as ill: travaill 68, orgueill 191, bataille 212, oeill 410, etc., but vueil 391.

Palatalized n is represented as ngn: lingnage 398, and gn: reigne 46; ingn in Bretaingne 105, montaingnes 202, etc. is probably also an alternate graphy for palatal n, unless the i represents the development of a vocalic glide. The

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[9]Pope, From Latin to Modern French, p. 125, §291.

[10]Transcribed in the text by j.

graphy -ng also appears in final position where the sound had previously been depalatalized[11]: tesmoing 192, tieng 381, but l'escrin 44.

Intervocalic n is sometimes doubled: honnoré 507, deboneremẽt 406, felonnie 532 but deboneretez 591, honorer 712.

The graphy m for n preceding a labial consonant often occurs: em plusors 106, em prieres 129. The prefix con is usually restored: conmencierent 37, often where it does not represent the etymological spelling: conme 18. The spelling nm in intervocalic position appears in other instances as well: sonmes 321.

The graphy x often occurs in place of final s when it is preceded by u, especially in the adjectival ending -eux from Latin -osus: merveilleux 8, glorieux 520, religieux 707, etc., but glorieus 134; final x sometimes represents final us: biax 143, gloriex 575.

Final s and z are regularly differentiated in all but a few instances: ouvranz 82, genz 198, seinz 690, jorz 752, etc., but jugementz 156, cheveuz 703.

The letters s and c are confused in a few instances: si for ci 114, ce for se 407.

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[11] Cf. Fouché, Phonétique historique du francais, III, 919.

The spelling sc appears occasionally for internal s: desfensce 96, reüscé 337. Desfendre and desfensee contain s in the initial syllable: desfenz 339, desfensce 96.

The development of Latin intervocalic ti in written ci in learned words, but sci also occurs: pacience 179, pascience 172.

The development of the Latin suffix -tione in learned words is -cion: corrupcion 61, conversacions 127, nacion 261, etc., but also: resurrection 61, corruption 864, nascion 94.

The development of the Latin suffix -itia is usually written -esce: foiblesce 38, richesces 88, simplesce 154, but also richeces 382.

The development of the Latin suffixes -antia and -entia is usually spelled with c: l'ordenance 71, pacience 179, creance 562, semblance 692.

Summary:

The orthography indicates that the language of the text is Standard Old French. The fluctuations in spelling which occur are no different from the usual orthographic variations found in thirteenth century manuscripts[12] and are not, except possibly in the few instances pointed out above, indicative of dialectal influence.

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[12]Cf. Charles Beaulieu, Histoire de l'orthographie francaise, pp. 160-190, (Paris, Champion, 1927).

Morphology and Syntax.

Nouns and Adjectives:

The use of the double case system is quite regular. Masculine nouns of Class I regular have s in the nominative singular: arcevesques 12, rois 134, souverains 631, martirs 519, 731, etc. There are a few masculine nouns of Class I without s in the nominative singular; they are for the most part in predicate position: evesque 58, aversaire 175, torment 484. There is some hesitation in the use of flectional s with names of Germanic origin: Donstans 1, Aymon 31, 48, 182, etc., sometimes Aymonz 456, 542.

Masculine nouns of Classes II and III often have analogical s in the nominative singular, Class II: peres 164, 806; Class III: compainz 444, sires, regularly with s, 242, 567, 677, etc., but hon 562, 846, hom 793, 809. In some instances the nominative radical of imparisyllabic nouns has been used for the oblique: prestre 5, oblique singular, ancestres 89, oblique plural, conpainz 399, oblique plural, but also compaignon 218, oblique singular. The alternation of the radical in sires - seignor is always regular: sires 237, 282, 388, seignor 47, 178, 588, etc. The alternation of hon or hom, home is almost always regular: hom 28, hon 562, home 95, 184, 322, etc., but homme 2, in the nominative singular.

Evesques 320, has s in the vocative singular, but its

modifier bon 13 320 does not; biau sire Dex 329 are also vocative singular forms.

Masculine nouns of Class I more often do not have s in the nominative plural: pueple 80, chevalier 90, element 300, tyrant 471, 560, but some do have s: flueves 117, maux 194, Masculine nouns of Classes II and III do not usually have s in the nominative plural, Class II: menistre 548, 771, but freres 37; Class III: tormentecur 341, larron 746.

Masculine adjectives of Class I regularly have s in the nominative singular: frans 163, benëürez 316, seinz 134, 317, 671, etc. Masculine adjectives of Class II usually have s in the nominative singular: humbles 146, desleaus 348, puissanz 358, semblables 643, but some, for the most part in predicate position, do not: desleal 175, crüel 175, senblable 484.

Feminine adjectives of Class II sometimes have s in the nominative singular: granz 119, forz 119, loinz 244, grelles 694, but grant 114.

Masculine adjectives of Class I do not usually have s in the nominative plural: chetif 86, soudoier 90, pesme 215. Those of Class II usually do not either but sometimes forms with s occur: crüel 197, desloial 215, desleal 471, dolant 592, but engrés 197, granz 824.

Articles:

The double case system is regularly maintained for the forms of the definite and indefinite articles. Only a few

exceptions occur. The following forms function as nominatives: le 274, un 58, 174, before the oblique form of a masculine singular noun in subject or predicate position, les 101. 131, preceding Englois.

Pronouns:

Regular distinctions of case are maintained in the forms of the personal pronoun. The forms employed are standard for the thirteenth century; an exception, ti reflexive, occurs in l. 339.

The forms of the possessive pronoun and adjective are also standard; the double case system is regularly maintained; masculine nominative singular mes 237, 282, oblique singular mon 42, son 52, etc., but there are a few exceptions: son appears in nominative function 484. Both lor 39, 716, and leur 89, 718, occur.

Forms of the demonstrative pronoun and adjective cil appear with and without initial i: icil 6, 535, icelui 703; forms without are more numerous: cil 18, celui 60, ceus 491, cele 4, etc. Acil appears in l. 210. Some confusion in the double case system occurs in the use of cil: celui 45, 518, ceus 331, are in subject position, but most forms are regular. The double case is normally maintained in the forms of cist.

The double case is generally maintained in the forms of indefinite pronouns and adjectives; there are a few exceptions: nul 93, chascun 604, 722 function as nominatives;

l'en 224, 420, 676, occurs frequently as an indefinite subject.

The feminine forms of the indefinites quel and tel sometimes have analogical e: quele 41, 55, queles 50, teles 288, but quel 62, 858, tel 94, 209, 875.

Verbs:

Analogical e is frequently found in the first person singular, present indicative of -er verbs: conmence 64, aime 440, but sometimes it is not employed: pri 66, desir 346; -er verbs often have analogical e in the singular of the present subjunctive: recoupes 69, deignes 70, nonce 280, but several forms without e occur: demeur 348, desconfort 350, racont 449.

There are no forms of the first person singular, present indicative with analogical s.

Ert appears in l. 245 as the imperfect indicative of estre, but elsewhere the estoit type always occurs: estoit 30, 108, 246, 272, etc. The future of estre is always the serai type: seras 295, sera 358, sera 844.

Third person singular forms of weak perfects are regularly written without final t: issi 136, respondi 334, souffri 544, etc., but s'endoulut 773. Preconsonantal s is omitted twice in the third person singular, perfect of s-

Perfects: art 222, dit 334.[14] Perfects formed on two

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[14] See notes to ll. 222, 334.

different radicals appear for vouloir: vost 32, 191, volt 177, voldrent 141.

Past participles employed with estre usually show regular agreement with the subject; masculine participles normally agree with the subject in number, gender, and case: arousez 5: nez 139, apelez 183, 553, portez 525, etc., but occasionally there is no agreement: osté 295. Feminine participles with estre regularly agree with the subject in number and gender: enclose 112, apelees 202, conmandee 307, saoulee 405, etc.

Past participles conjugated with avoir usually agree with the direct object, whether it precedes: l'avoit trete 18, l'a aceinte 121, que Dex nos a donnez 406, etc., or whether it follows: ai ensuivie l'ordenance 71, avoit oïes nouveles 236, a tendue sa roiz 378, etc. Occasionally there is no agreement: reüscé 336; enconmenciee 434 agrees with the subject.

Word Order:

I. Subject-verb-complement. Of the six combinations characteristic of Old French,[15] logical word order is employed most frequently in the text:

1. Il avironnoit la cite . . . 225
2. . . . il apela le pueple . . . 776;
3. Il estoit douz et humbles . . . 146.

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[15] Cf. Lucien Foulet, Petite syntaxe de l'ancien français, (Paris, Champion, 1930), pp. 38-44, 306-328.

II. Subject-complement-verb. This type of order is regularly found in both principal and subordinate clauses if the direct object is a pronoun. It is found occasionally in subordinate clauses in which the object is a substantive:

1. qui l'avoit trete . . . 18;

2. . . . que tu cest frelle cors despieces et ocies . . 407.

III. Complement-subject-verb. This type is regularly found in subordinate clauses when the direct object is a relative pronoun:

1. la fiance que j'oi . . . 65;

2. Cist aversaires que li anemis envoia . . . 181.

IV. Verb-subject-complement. This type of order fairly frequently occurs in principal clauses:

1. Grant tens aprés ceste chose, reçut seinte yglise un pou de pes, si conmencierent li crestien a issir hors des leus ou . . . 571.

2. Si se tindrent tuit a un conseill . . . 601.

3. Avecques cest seint miracle . . . fist li souverains rois Jhesu Cristz un autre biau miracle. . . 629.

V. Verb-complement-subject. This order occurs very rarely in the text:

et descendent en cele mer cent mile tres grant flueves . . . 116.

VI. Complement-verb-subject. This type of order occasionally occurs in subordinate clauses and more frequently in principal clauses:

1. . . . que une partie . . . cele partie de cele isle retindrent li sesne . . . 97.

2. . . . que vif ne mort ne me departira ja nus de la charite Jhesu Crist . . . 359;

3. et encore le tesmoingnent bien cil qui . . . 194;

4. et ce fesoit il . . . 227.

There are very few instances of inversion of the subject in subordinate clauses[16]: VI, 1, 2. Subject inversion does occur fairly frequently in principal clauses introduced by an adverbial adjunct: IV, 1, 2, 3; VI, 3, a direct object VI, 4, or preceded by a subordinate clause:

1. . . . et non pas por ce que il fust nez de roial ligniee . . . 138;

2. . . . des que il fu enfes, ravi il . . . 148.

Omission of the pronoun subject is very rare in subordinate clauses, but occurs sometimes in principal clauses:

1. Si te pri souplement et requier que . . . 66;

2. . . . si surent par ceste reson a ce mene . . . 97.

Summary:

The grammatical forms which occur in the text are standard for the thirteenth century. The double case

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[16]Cf. Brita Lewinsky (L'Ordre des mots dans Berinus [Göteborg, Rundquists Boktryckeri, 1949], pp. 86, 88), and Harald Nissen, (L'Ordre des mots dans Chronique de Jean d'Outremeuse [Uppsala, Almqvist and Wiksells, 1943], pp. 50, 88), remark on the lack of subject inversion in subordinate clauses as opposed to its frequent use in principal clauses in prose texts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

system is for the most part regularly employed. Logical word order occurs most frequently in the text, although other combinations employing subject inversion and omission of the pronoun subject also appear.

SCRIPT AND EDITORIAL PROCEDURES.

The script of La Vie Seint Aymon is a clear Gothic hand. Only certain letters give any problem in being understood. Consecutive m, n, v, u, and i are sometimes difficult to distinguish. The difference between n and u can usually be faintly discerned by a thin cross stroke across the top of n; ou never seems to occur in place of on. It is normally possible to identify i by a thin diagonal line placed above it. Medial t is sometimes shortened and can be mistaken for c; s is on occasion difficult to distinguish from c and also from f if it is directly followed by this letter.

The following comment may be made about the resolution of symbols and abbreviations in the manuscripts:

q with a cross stroke or down stroke above it has been resolved que, qu, or qui in accordance with what is grammatically correct in the comtext: que 423, qui 455, qu'ele 669, qui 718, que 742, qu'il 745, etc.;

a curved mark ’ above a letter has been resolved as a following er or ier in accordance with the usual form: vertuz 47, tormenter 198, huchier 614, maniere 637, etc.; angl’e and angl’es have been transcribed anglere 855, and angleres 878 although these forms are not attested in the dictionaries of Godefroy or Tobler-Lommatzsch;

the symbol ˜ above a letter has been resolved re: arbre 492, metre 644;

the symbol ˚ over a letter has been transcribed or: mort 420, seignor 305, 395, etc.;

a down stroke above a letter is resolved in two instances ri: prieres 129, briés 449;

ꝰ written above a letter is transcribed us: angoisseus 477, aigniaus, 510, etc.;

the symbol ˜ above q in qnt and qr is resolved qant 367, qar 149, etc., but in gnt it is resolved grant 74, 114, etc.;

s̓ is resolved seint or seinz in accordance with the case which is grammatically correct;

mlt is transcribed mult, chr chevalier, nr̃e nostre, p̃ par, or occasionally per.

Other symbols frequently used in the text such as the tilde, ˜, ⁊ and 9 are resolved in the regular way.

The letter i having consonantal value is transcribed j.

CI CONMENCE LA VIE SEINT AYMON QUI FU ROI ET DE SON MARTIRE

A icelui tens que Donstans, li arcevesques de Dureaume, sages et ancïen homme, fesoit sa visitation par sa province, si vint en une abëie qui Aube Florie estoit apelee. En cele abëie avoit un moinne prestre qui estoit arousez et enluminez de la grace du seint Esperit. Icil moines se pourpensa en mainte maniere conment il porroit raconter et metre en escrit les merveilleux fez et les merveilleux miracles de mon seignor seint Haimon le glorïeux martir et roi, por ce qu'il pleüst a touz ceus qui l'orroient et qi fust profitable a toutes les yglises d'Engleterre. "Li arcevesques, qui avoit oï et seü que nus ne savoit la vie del beneüré roi seint Haymon et que nus ne l'avoit escripte, par sa seintee, en la presence de moi et de l'evesque de Rovecestre et de l'abbé de Manelaberi, et par devant meinz autres des freres de l'abëie de Aube Florie, la raconta apertement conme cil qui l'avoit trete d'ancïenne estoire et de veraie, si com il est coustume que prelaz doit repestre ses sougiez de la parole Nostre Seignor.

"Li arcevesques par devant ceus reconnut tout emplorant que il la seinte vie et la seinte conversacion del seint verai martyr mon seignor seint

Aymon le roi avoit seüe et aprise mult jone d'un mult ancien home, de qui il l'avoit oïe raconter simplement et en bone foi au tres glorïex roi d'Engleterre qui Derestan estoit apelez. Et cil ancïens hom qui a celui roi contoit cele seinte vie l'afermoit par son serement, et disoit que il estoit escuiers mon seignor seint Aymon, au jor que il fu morz. Au quel afermement li seinz arcevesques sa s'apuia, et vost celer et garder en l'escrin de son cuer, pour ce que il en aprés a ses jones sougiez la racontast doucement, et einsi nos l'oïmes et creümes par lui et par son enseingnement.

"En aprés ce noz freres conmencierent a deprïer et a requerre ma foiblesce et m'ancïanneté, que ge m'otroiasse a lor desirrier et que selonc ma force ge ne lessasse perir l'ordenance de si granz oeuvres, a la quele requeste ge m'otroie par leur reverence et par lor vouloir acomplir. Si i mis un pou de mon tens et de mon estuide en letres seculers; puis m'en retornai a l'escrin de mon cuer, et apris de la phylosophie, que Celui qui est Phylosophes el trosne del reigne pardurable me donnast force et pooir de raconter les vertuz et les miracles de mon seignor seint Aymon le tres glorïeus roi et martyr, au meins ceus qui ont esté fetes puis sa mort et n'ont esté oïes, les queles nus ne peüst croire se l'auctorité

l'arcevesque ne le confermast, et por ce les fermoit et contreignoit a croire, la channe chevelеüre de son chief, qui plus estoit blanc que nois. Et en aprés aucunes genz demanderent se ces choses pooient estre veraies, a la quele demande li arcevesques respondi et leur mist en essample tel chose qui mult leur amoloia les cuers et les purja de la doute qu'il avoient, et leur fu en essample un seint evesque confessor qui estoit apelez Cucubert. Qui vit le cors de celui seint gloriex martir qui atent la resurrection de l'ame sanz corrupcion et sanz blemissеüre du cors. La quel chose j'oi a merveille pour certeinne chose, si que ge plus seürement conmence a raconter les merveilleux fez de cel seint glorieux roi par la fiance que j'oi de ses merites et des teues," fait il a l'arcevesque. "Si te pri souplement et requier que tu en la nouveleté de mon travaill un jor doingnes t'oiseuse honeste en ceste seinte besoigne torner, a ce que tu en recoupes les superfluitez et deignes les defaltes raemplir; car ge de ta bouche ai ensuivie l'ordenance de cest fet jusq'au derrein miracle et amonesté touz ceus qui l'orront en l'amor de cest seint martyr."

Jadis furent en Bretaingne la Grant trois manieres de pueples, Sesnes de Sessoingne et Englois et ceus de la terre qui Breton estoient. Cil Sesne et cil Englois

furent lonc tens en l'eïde et el secours as Bretons, qui genz estoient de cele terre. Et avint par meinte foiz que il furent envaï de bataille et cil dui pueple les desfendoient et eus et leur terre forment. Et les genz de cele terre se demoroient as ostiex pour leur cors aesier, ouvranz et traveillanz en la chetive oeuvre des deliz de leur cors, car il se fioient en la corageuse force de leur chevaliers soudoiers. Et qant besoinz ou force croissoit as anemis de la terre, icil chetif souffreteus en rendoient leur ostiex a delivrer et a mucier et a repondre les avoirs et les richesces, qui leur estoient demorez de leur peres et de leur ancestres.

Qant li chevalier soudoier sorent ceste chose, si forsclostrent les Bretons et establirent et deviserent une isle tres planteureuse de touz biens, et establirent et esgarderent que nul home de cele nascion ne de cele terre ne devoit gouverner tel terre ne tel seingnorie ne nul home, qui ne peüst donner desfensce et viande couvenable a leur gent; si furent par ceste reson a ce mené que une partie de cele isle qui est par devers oriant, qui est apelee en la langue aus Englois dusc'au jor d'ui Eastangle, icele partie de cele isle retindrent li Sesne a leur oeus, et les Englois retindrent les autres parties qui demorerent sanz rancune et sanz

tençons envers lor conpaignons et a chascun souffisoit sa partie. Dont il avint de cele Grant Bretaingne que ele fu premierement departie a dus et puis a rois em plusors reines et em plusors parties, mes toutes voies les illes que li Sesne orent a leur partie estoit la plus noble terre et la plus riche, et estoit aceinte et avironnee de trois manieres de mers.

La premiere de cez mers dont cele terre est enclose si est la mer devers soulerre; la seconde vient devers euro; et la tierce devers aquillon. Icele si est si grant et si merveilleuse, que ele avirone toute la terre de la Grant Bretaingne et les parties d'oriant, et descendent en cele mer cent mile tres grant flueves; l'autre partie de la terre par devers occident, ou li souleuz vet a declin, est si granz et si forz que ce est droite merveille, et est toute avironnee de la rive de la mer qui autresint l'a aceinte conme se ele fust close de murs contre la force de ses annemis.

Dedenz cele ille a vergiers plenteureux d'erbes, et est delitable de fruit et de bois et de venoison et de touz biens et de flueuves pescherez que la mer avironne de toutes parz, et i a estans et eves douces qui arosent les celes et les conversacions aus moinnes et aus hermites qui servent Nostre

Seignor em prïeres et en oroisons.

En cele terre qui si est douce et plenteureuse, demorerent les Englois par le vouloir as Sesnes qui retindrent a leur oes les illes par devers orïent. Et de la lingniee de cez Sesnes issi et nasqui mes sires seinz Aymons li glorïeus rois, qui des le conmencement de son premier aage crut et ensuivi la foi et la loi crestianne. Il issi et nasqui d'ancïens rois; il fu esleüz a roi et a seignor du conmun asentement de touz ceus de la province, et non pas por ce que il fust nez de roial ligniee, mes por ce qu'il estoit sages et endoctrinnez de bonnes meurs, voldrent tuit cil de la terre que il reignast par desus euls en ceptre et en poësté, car il estoit si biax que il devoit par biauté estre digne d'enpire, et si estoit de si debonere cuer qu'il trespassoit toutz autres princes de devocion. Il estoit douz et humbles et de tres beles paroles a touz et simples et deboneres sanz nul orgueill; et des que il fu enfes, ravi il et monta par sa pascïence le degré de vertu, qar la tres seinte douce Devine Pitié savoit qu'il estoit a definer par martire. Il fu a ses sougiez douz et amiables, et destreingnanz et aspres a ceus qui estoient rebelles encontre lui. Il estoit simples autresi conme un coulon; il atempra par sa simplesce la

chalor de l'ancien sarpent, que il ne fust deceüz par son decevable enging; et qant il estoit en jugementz et em pleiz, il encerchoit et enqueroit diligenment les choses, por ce que il ne receüst les sentences des granz genz encontre droit. Il aloit adés droite voie sanz decliner a destre en orgoillissant soi de ses merites, ne il ne declinoit pas a senestre en soupliant as vices de l'umaine fragilité. Il estoit frans et larges aus sofreteus; il estoit debonneres peres aus veves et aus orfelins. Il avoit tout adés devant ses eulz la parole du sage qui dit: "Il t'ont esleü a prince et establi? Ne t'en orgoillis pas, mes soies autresint come un d'euls." Et por ce resplendissoit il si en Dieu et en seinte Yglise, par aornement de bones oeuvres.

Li desleaux annemis, qui de tant com il est plus mauvés a greignor envie sus les bons, conmença a esprouver la pascïence au beneüré roi mon seigneur seint Haymon autresint com il fist au tres glorieux Seint Job. Et li envoia un de ses membres; ce fu un mult desleal et mult tres crüel aversaire que, autresint com il toli au beneüré Seint Job toutes ses choses, volt il tolir au tres glorïeus roi mon seignor seint Haymon toutes les seues choses, a ce que il le feïst torner hors de pacïence et que il se desesperast de Nostre Seignor.

Cist aversaires que li anemis envoia au beneürré roi mon seignor seint Aymon fu un sarrazin felon et crüel, et estoit apelez par son droit non Hymgar, et amena un autre home avec lui plein de tres grant averssité, qui avoit non Humba. Icil dui crüel aversaire se sont pourpenssé de destruire toutes les contrees de Bretaigne; car il estoient ententis et volenteïs de mal fere a leur pooirs a la gent crestïenne. Et ce n'estoit de merveille, car il sont engelé de la froidure du someriquet de la montaingne ou celui se mist qui par son orgueill vost estre semblables a Dieu, et de ce avons nos tesmoing le prophete qui dit: "Des parties d'aquillon viennent toz maux." Et encore le tesmoingnent bien icil qui de cez parties sont venu et qui ont esprouvee la tres grant cruauté des genz d'aquillon, car il sont si engrés et si crüel par nature que il ne se sevent espargnier a genz destruire et tormenter; car li plusor des genz de cele terre vivent d'umeine char et icez genz sont apelé acropofagi, et de ceste gent a il encore assez en Escoce delez unes montaingnes qui sont apelees Hyperboroos. Icez genz doivent ensuivre antecrist par devant toutes autres genz, a ce que il soient peü et rasazié as genz tormenter;et par ce portent il encore signe de bestes en leur front et ne finent ne ne cessent de

gent tormenter, meïsmement icez genz qui plus sont pres de la region d'occident que l'en apele Dani; et a tel chose servent il en maniere de larrecin.

Acil Hymgar et Humba, dont nos avons dit avant, furent né de cest lingniee. Cist envaïrent premierement a bataille la terre de Norembinbre et la conmencierent a puepler de maintes manieres de genz, ne nus de la province ne pooit contrester ne durer a la grant cruauté d'euls, tant estoient pesme et desloial; car Humba vouloit par sa felonnie atemprer et apaier l'ire du souverein dieu.

Icil Humba lessa Hymgar son compaignon, qant il ot fete partie de sa cruiauté en la terre, et s'entorna devers les parties d'orient encontre bise, et prist une cité par sa force soudeinnement, et qant il fu dedenz il art touz les borjois et fist estrangler les enfanz; et toutes les fames virges et autres conmanda que l'en meïst a la vilté du bordel et fist les enfanz ocirre pendanz aus mameles leur meres. Il avironnoit la cité en ardant de toutes parz, autresi conme forssené, et ce fesoit il por ce que il peüst plere a l'autre tirant, qui par sa cruauté avoit conmandé que il oceïst touz ceus qu'il porroit trouver qui crestïen fussent. Et cil si fesoit a son pooir, ne ne pooit estre saoulez d'occirre; si i ot moult grant multitude des occis.

Qant il ot einsint esploitié, il apela de ceus de la cité que il cuida qui meins fussent digne de morir et leur demanda et encercha en quel leu leur roi demoroit en icelui tens. Car il avoit oïes nouveles que icelui rois mes sires seint Haymon estoit de jone aage et de merveilleuse force et li souverains de tot son reigne em bataille, car il estoit de tres grant proësce et de grant hardement. Icil tiranz se hastoit mult de destruire et d'occirre touz ceus que il pooit trouver, por ce que se il avenist que li rois mes sires Seinz Aymonz venist contre lui a bataille, qui a celui tens demoroit a une vile qui estoit loinz de cele cité ou li tiranz avoit sa cruauté fete; et cele cité ert apelee en lor langage Hegeliduns, et estoit einsi nonmee pour la prouchenetê des iaues et des bois qui estoient entor.

Li tiranz ocioit en ceste maniere touz ceus que il aconsuivoit por ce que, se li rois assembloit a lui, qu'il n'i peüst avoir duree pour la defaute des ocis. Et einsi se porpenssoit li cuverz tiranz, et veritez estoit, que de tant com il ocirroit plus des crestïens, de tant en asembleroit li rois meins en bataille, et por ce se penoit li tiranz d'occirre plus et plus touz ceus que il trouvoit. Et tout autresint conme li leux, quant il a saisie sa proie, quiert au plus tost que il puet ou il se puisse

repondre, autresint cil tiranz enquiert et demande les repostailles des bois, come cil qui estoit de la nacion dont les genz ne vivent fors de rapine ne ne savoient combatre a leur annemis fors en repostaille et en traïson. Et tout en ceste manere fesoit cil tiranz, et ostoit [et ostoit] aus crestïens toutes les choses que il cuidoit qui mestier leur eüst et ou il deüssent venir a refui et fist prendre leur nes el rivache de la mer.

Qant cil tiranz ot einsi destornees les nes a cele bone gent et il ot ocis et destruit qanque il ateingnoit, il regarda environ lui ses genz et apela un de ses chevaliers et l'envoia a cel seint gloriex roi mon seignor seint Aymon, qui mult estoit empeeschiez a icelui tens de meintes besoingnes. Et li conmande que il encerche quele est la some et le nombre de sa mesniee, por ce que il le peüst veintre et metre a divers tormenz se il a ses faux conmandemenz ne voloit obeïr. Li chevaliers se mist a la voie et li tiranz vet grant piece de la voie avec lui, a grant plenté de gent et a petites jornees, et li conmande que il nonce au roi son mesage en ceste maniere.

"Mes sires lì rois Hymgar, forz et cruieux a douter en terre et en mer, est arivez aus porz de ceste province a tres grant plenté de gent et de nes,

et a souzmises a son conmandement meintes diversse gent et meintes diversses regions par ses armes; et por ce m'envoie il ici a toi, que tu et tout ton reigne et toutes tes richesces, teles come tu les as, sozmetes a lui et vueilles vivre soz lui et renïer. Et se tu contrediz son vouloir et despiz son conmandement, il qui est garniz de tantes regions, par sa force et par sa jugement, te toldra ton reigne et ta vie. Et qui es tu qui oses contredire a si grant pooir a cui toute la tempeste de mer sert par ses avirons? Tu seras osté du propos de ta droite entention par la force de celui a cui li tonnoirres du ciel ne les foudres ne nuirent onques par la grace qu'il a desus les elemenz. Soies donques toi et toutes tes genz souz si tres grant empereeur a cui li element servent pour la tres grant debonereté de lui, car il est si tres debonneres a ses sougiez que nus n'est plus debonneres de lui; et si punit et destreint si tres durement les orgueilleux que il fet touz venir a sa merci."

Li messages se parti de son seignor et s'envint devant le glorieux roi mon seigneur seint Aymon, et li dist la parole einsi com ele li fu conmandee; et qant mes sires seinz Aymon l'ot entendu, il conmença a plorer pour la douleur qu'il ot a son cuer. Si apela a lui un evesque qui estoit de son privé

conseill, et li demanda conseill que il porroit respondre a cez choses. Et li evesques li dist et l'amonesta par meintes essamples que il s'otroiast au vouloir de celui, et ce li dist il pour la poour qu'il ot de mon seignor seint Aymon que li tyranz ne l'occeïst; et qant li seinz beneürez rois mes sires seinz Aymon l'oï, si s'enbruncha et clina son chief envers terre et se tut un pou, et puis conmença a parler en ceste maniere et dist:

"Bon Evesques, nos sonmes a ce venu en nostre vie que nous ne sonmes ne cremu ne douté, car veez ci un home estrange et avolé d'autre terre qui par sa force sorveint touz les anciens de nostre reigne, et ge sui ci uns chetis souffreteus qui en plorant me sueffre et tes. Et car pleüst ore a Dieu que chascuns de vus plorast en aidant soi encontre ceste douleur qui ci est aparissant, par si que vos ne moreüssiez par la force de cest desleal tirant. He, biau sire Dex, conme ceste chose me pleroit, et pleüst a Nostre Seignor que ge en fusse occis et enfouiz en cez chans, par si que ceus qui aprés moi demorroient parvenissent tuit a la joie pardurable et a la tres grant gloire du ciel."

A ceste chose respondi li evesques et dit: "Qui cuides tu qui demeurt aprés toi se tu muerz, qant cist cruiex annemis en a ja ocis pleinne une cité et

si a reüscé la force de tes chevaliers, qui s'en afuient a toi pour la poour d'estre livré a mort? Si te di, se tu ne ti gardes ou tu ne te desfenz, ou par fouir ou par autre desfenssion, par la foi que je doi a m'ame, li tormenteeur vendront ici prochainnement, qui te feront soustenir les painnes et les tormenz de mort pour le remenant de ton pueple." A ceste parole respondi li seinz rois beneürez mes sires seinz Aymon et dist:

"Ce est ce que ge vueill et desir qui m'avieingne plus que nule autre chose, que ge ne demeur pas vis aprés mes amis, que cil desleaus tiranz a ocis en leur liz; et pour coi m'amonestes tu que ge me desconfort et m'enfuie contre la venue de cest chael qui ci en la fin de ma vie m'apareille la joie pardurable? J'ai touzjorz refusee et pourloingniee l'acusement de mort, et ai soustenu meint blame et meinte parole de ma chevalerie pour ce que il me plesoit et m'estoit honeste chose a morir pour mon païs; et veus tu ore que ge me traïsse en ma fin? La Devine Lumiere, pour la perte que j'ai fete, me sera en loier. Li touz puissanz Jugierres de toutes choses m'est en tesmoing que vif ne mort ne me departira ja nus de la charité Jhesu Crist, de Cui ge reçui l'anel de seinte foi en la confession du seint baptesme; ce fu qant ge renié le deable et sa

profession, et par cez reniances m'avint il par la gloire de la pardurable Trinité que ge reçui a estre sacrez trois foiz et enoinz, et fui enbeüz de l'unction du seint cresme.

En la premiere onction qant ge reçui l'estole du seint lavement du baptesme, la seconde par le comenient que ge reçui en la beneïçon de l'evesque qant il me conferma, la tierce qant ge fui par vostre otroi et par l'apel de tout le pueple apelé a estre par desus eus en roial poëstè. Et ge enoinz en ceste maniere par treble onction vueil plus profiter a la conmunité des Englois que sus euz d'estre en despisant; et m'esforce a sozmetre mon col en jou del devin servise, et or endroit me veult li decevables anemis de recevoir par ses mauveses semilles, et a tendue sa roiz, ou il me veult enlacier. Et qant il nos pramet ce que Dex nos a otroié il nos pramet la joie pardurable, la quelle nos avons; je n'aurai pas cestui reigne que ge tieng mes le reigne du ciel; il me pramet richeces mes ge n'en ai nul mestier. Cuide il donques que ge qui ai vóé devant touz mes princes a vivre et a reignier soz Jhesu Crist, que ge vueille ore conmencier a servir a deux seigneurs?"

Qant li seinz rois ot einsi parlé, si s'en parti li chevaliers qui envoiez i estoit de par le tirant Hymgar. Et li beneürez mes sires seinz Aymon li dist:

" Ge qui sui moilliez et soilliez du sanc de mes homes que tu as morz, par quoi tu es bien dignes de recevoir torment, ne vueil pas por toi conchier mes meins, einz ensuivre l'essample de mon debonnere pere Jhesu Crist, en cui Non ge sui apparreilliez de morir, se ce avient que ge viengne entre voz meins. Si t'en va ore et raconte a ton seignor tout einsi que il, fiulz de deable, resemble bien son pere, qui par son orgueill trebuscha du ciel et envelopa si par sa menconge l'umein lingnage, que il fist mainte ame conpainz de sa peinne qui corpes n'i avoit. Et tu ensuiz icelui anemi par tes fez, mes tu ne m'espoënteras ja par tes menaces, ne ne me decevras par les promesses de la mort pardurable; einz me trouveras appareillié conme chevalier Jhesu Crist. Et ta gloutonnie orde et mauvese, qui ne puet estre saoulee, preigne les tresorz et les richesces que Diex nos a donnez debonnerement et les destruie et degast seürement. Et ce ce avient que tu cest frelle cors despieces et ocies, ja por ce mes corages ne sera soz toi ne ne te servira l'espace d'un guingnemen d'un oeill, car il est mult plus honeste chose a desfendre la pardurable franchise par mort, s'ele ne puet estre desfendue par armes, que a vivre en ceste chetiveté en sozgeücion de mauvés seignor. Et mult est tres glorieuse chose de morir por Jhesu

Crist, a Cui ge sui sers. Car se ge refusoie la besoingne mon seignor et ce que il m'a conmandé a garder, ce est sa foi et sa creance, g'en devroie estre puniz angoisseusement por le mesfet; car li serjanz qui refuse le conmandement son seignor a garder, l'en le doit jugier a mort ausi conme se il fust courpables de la mort son seignor, et se ge retornoie ore de ceste franchise a autrui servage, certeinne chose est que ge avroie mon seignor en despit. Et por ce, en quelque maniere que li esperiz issi de la chartre de mon cors, por qu'il ne messervi son seignor et que il soit frans de son servise leaument tenir et garder, il s'en vet tout droit el ciel. Et li proverbes dit que roi sanz teste ne vivra ja par victoire, et tu me veuls esmouvoir a ce que ge aie esperance de reignier aprés la mort de mes homes que tu as ocis, autresi conme se ge fusse couvoiteus de reinier en vuide meson et sanz seignor. Mes or le fai autresint conme ta cruauté a enconmenciee et envoie le roi aprés ses serjanz el ciel. Detrez le et decrache et le buffoie, et se tu veus si l'estrangles au derreein; car se li Rois des rois, qi de touz a pitié, voit cez choses, il me reconfermera. Si con ge croi a regnier avec lui en la pardurable joie, si saches veraiement que li rois Aymonz crestiens aime mieuz estre autresint conme

enseingne et chastiaux au pardurable Roi que estre sozmis a un prince sarrazin pour l'amor d'un pou de vie temporel, s'einsi n'estoit qu'il voussist estre compainz de sa foi et de sa religion."

A paines ot li tres beneürez rois mes sires seinz Aymon ses paroles acomplies et li messages n'estoit pas mult esloingniez d'ilecques, qant li rois Hymgar li vint a l'encontre et li conmande que il li racont a briés paroles la responsse le roi; et cil li dist toutes les paroles et les secrez que li seinz glorieux rois li avoit dites. Et tandis com il les racontoit, li tiranz conmanda a sa gent que il avironnassent la cité de toutes parz par dehors et entrent tuit dedenz et prengnent seulement le roy, qui avoit contrediz ses conmandemenz.

Adonques li gloriex rois mes sires seinz Aymonz, remenbranz de Jhesu Crist, fu pris touz desarmez en son palés et fu lïez d'estroiz liens et fu amenez autresint conme un innocent devant le felon roi, autresint conme Jhesu Crist fu menez devant Pylate le juge. Car il couvoitoit a ensuivre la trace de Celui qui fu por nos crucefiez. En ceste maniere lïé degabant et batant et fustant l'enmenerent jusques [jusques] a un grant arbre qui d'ilecques estoit pres, et le lïerent a l'arbre mult estroit et le batirent et travaillierent mult crüelment pour

savoir se il le peüssent a ce mener que il voussist estre sozgiez a Hymgar le tyrant. Mes onques ferir ne batre ne ledengement ne le porent veintre; eincois apele toutjorz Jhesu Crist en plorant et a douce et a serie voiz. Et qant li desleal tyrant le virent et oïrent, si en furent dolent et corroucié; si le mistrent autresint conme estache au berssaill et trestrent a lui darz et saietes et le trespercent par tout le cors et par toz les membres par leur grant [cruauté] cruauté et par lor forssenerie, et li firent souffrir tres angoisseus tormenz par les cruieux copx des darz et des saietes. Car qant il avenoit que il aseoient seaite sus seete, il fesoient plaie sus plaie; et qant il l'orent einsi trespercié et tresfoï de leur tres crueulx darz, si conmença li tres glorieux rois a douter la tres grant forssenerie d'euls. Car par le tres grant martire qu'il souffri, fu sa passion et son torment senblable a la passion mon seignor seint [Bastien] Sebastien, le tres seint glorieux martir, car il estoit autresint hericié de saietes conme un hericon est de broches. Et qant li tiranz Hymgar vit et apercut que il ne se mouvroit de sa foi pour chose que l'en li face ne que l'en li ait fete, einz reclainme touzjorz ententivement Jhesu Crit, si conmande a ceus qi le martiroient que il li coupassent le chief. Et cil s'en viennent a l'arbre

ou li beneürez mes sires seinz Aymonz estoit liez touz sanglenz et ja estoit autresint conme demi morz, fors tant sanz plus que la chaleur naturel li mouvoit encores un petit el piz si foiblement que a peinnes se pooit il mes soustenir.

Li tres felon tirant arachent le seint glorïex roi de l'arbre ou il estoit atachiez et liié mult forment, et qant il l'orent osté et arrachié de l'arbre, si virent que il avoit toutes les costes de son cors descouvertes et desnuees de char par les paintures des cruiex saietes et par les angoisseus cols des darz, autresint conme se il eüst esté trez a chevaux ou descirez aus ongles. Et qant cil le virent si atorné, si li conmanderent le chief a estendre, qui tozjorz avoit esté honnoré de coronne real. Et li glorïeux rois, qui volloit müer la vie de cest siecle au pardurable loier, fu entr'eus autresint debonneres conme li aigniaus qui est esleüz de toute sa compaignie, et il estoit entendanz au pardurable benefice et estoit reformez en la vision de la pardurable lumiere, si que par la paine qu'il avoit il desirroit a estre saoulez plus parfitement de la grant gloire Jhesu Crit.

Einsi entre tieus paroles d'oroison, li decolierres leva son glaive en contremont, et li tres seinz glorïeux rois estendi le col et celui li colpa

a un tout seul cop le chief; et li seinz martirs glorieux trespassa maintenant de ceste vie. En ceste maniere li beneürez rois mes sires seint Haymonz, esprouvé par le feu et par l'angoisse de passion, fist de son glorieux cors sacrefice a Dieu el douzieme nombre des kalendes de decembre, et fu transfigurez et portez en la joie de la celestiel court o paume de victoire et o coronne de martire, rois et martirs. Et par ceste fin que cist seinz rois glorieux martirs souffri et par les tormenz que il porta en son cors, ensuivi il et parfist l'ensuivance de la passion Nostre Seignor Jhesu Crit, li quiex verais Sauvierres, purs et nez de touz pechiez et de toute felonnie, fu lïez a l'estache et i espandi son seint precïeus sanc por nous en signe de Lui ensuivre.

Icil seinz glorïeux rois martirs, qui ausi fu lïez et ensanglentez a l'estache, souffri semblable paine einçois que il peüst parvenir a la joie pardurable. Icil glorïeux Diex Jhesu Crit, pour netoier le roïll de noz pechiez et de noz felonnies, souffri les angoisseuses perceüres des clos par ses paumes et par ses piez. Et cil tres seinz glorieux rois et martirs mi sires seinz Aymonz por l'amor de Lui feni sa vie par tourment et ot le chief coupé en pacïence et en veraie confession, et souffri par tout

son cors griés plaies et angoisseuses blecëures de divers tormenz et de saietes. Et qant il et au vouloir Nostre Seignor rendue l'ame, li mauvés menistre au deable lessierent le seint cors du tres glorieux roi et martir ausi hericié et borjouné des darz et des saietes qu'il n'i paroit gaires se les fleches non; et pristrent le chief qui avoit esté enoinz du mistere du seint sacrement du seint cresme et l'enporterent jusques a un bois qui est apelez Hegledun et le repostrent entre les espés buissons et entre les espines au plus couvertement que il porent. Car il ne vouloient mie que li crestïen qui remés et demoré estoient en vie ne le peüssent trouver, car il ne voloient pas que il ensevelissent le chief de cel seint glorïeux roi martir aveques son seint cors.

Qant li felon tyrant orent leur vouloir acompli, si s'en departirent. Et celui seint martire et cele grant orribleté, vit uns hon de nostre creance, que Nostre Sires avoit soutret et delivré des meins as sarrazins et de leur glaives; et le vout sauver por ce que il gardast et ordenast la demoustrance de ce fet. Car il ot veü et esgardé le martire que li beneürez rois glorieux mes sires seinz Aymonz, li verais martirs, avoit souffert et enduré et li vit couper le chief et l'en vit porter el bois, mes il ne sot que il en firent ne ou il le lessierent.

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Grant tens aprés ceste chose, reçut seinte Yglise un pou de pes, si conmencierent li crestïen a issir hors des leus ou il estoient repost et mucié pour la doutance des païens, et conmencierent a enquerre diligenment le cors du seint gloriex roi martir. Si le trouverent desouz l'arbre ou il avoit esté martiriez, et estoit encore touz enpannez des darz et des saietes dont li tirant l'avoient berssé et detret. Si i ot assez lermes espandues de duel et de pitié, et qant il virent que li chiés ne tenoit mie au cors, si le conmencierent a querre et a cerchier et amont et aval. Car volentiers se il le peüssent trouver, ensevelissent le cors et le chief ensemble honorablement. Et si tres tost conme li conmuns pueples de la terre virent et sorent que li païen orent la terre et guerpie et vuidiee, il acorurent o plors et o lermes a grant devocion en la place ou li beneürez cors de mon seignor seint Aymon roi et martir gisoit. Si i vint si grant pueple que ce fu fine merveille a veoir, car tuit ja coroient de totes parz pour les grant deboneretez dont il estoit. Et furent mult dolant et mult corroucié de ce que il estoient desevré de sa conpaignie, et endementres qu'il estoient en tele engoisse et en tel corrout, leur vint en cuer et en volenté que il alassent au bois et as forez por cerchier se il porroient par

la volenté Nostre Seignor asener ne venir en leu ou il peüssent trouver le chief de cel seint roi martir. Car il pensserent que les mauveses genz l'eüssent repost ou donné aus bestes sauvages ou as oisiaux a devorer, et cuident que il ne soit pas loinz. Si se tindrent tuit a un conseill et s'acorderent a ce quemunement que il preïssent cors et buisines, chascun un, que se il avenoit que il foloiassent par le bois, que il se rasemblassent as sons des cors et des boisinnes, si que il ne revenissent pas as leus ou il auroient esté ne il ne lessassent a cerchier ne clotet de reposttaille.

Qant il se furent tuit mis en cele queste, si avint une aventure merveilleuse a dire, quar onques nulle tele n'avoit esté oïe en cest siecle. Car li chiés de cel seint glorïeux roi martir, qui mult estoit lonc tens avoit dessevré du cors, conmença a huchier sanz enconbrement de sa voiz, tot autresi conme se il fust assemblé a son cors et garniz des conduiz qui i faillent, que einçois que li pueples eüst lessié du tout la trace des pilez et des saietes que il aloient suivant, oïrent une voiz parler. Et sembloit que ce fust aucun de leur compaignie qui deïst a son compaignon: "Ou es tu?" Et li chiés responnoit en la langue de son païs: "Her, her, her," et ce est a dire en françois: "Ci,

ci, ci." Ne ne cessa onques de crïer en ceste maniere devant que il furent tuit assemblé a lui. Et la langue li aloit ainsint mouvetant par le palés en senefiant Celui qui fu engendré par Parole, qui donna a la rude asnesse humeinne parole, que ele blaumast et repreïst la folie du prophete Balaham.

Avecques cest seint miracle du chief au precïeus roi mon seignor seint Aymon le martir, qui parla a ceus qui le queroient, fist li souverains rois Jhesu Cristz un autre biau miracle. Car il bailla le chief del beneüré roy mon seignor seint Aymon, dont l'ame est en la gloire des cielx, a garder a un grant leu qui mult estoit cruieux et espoëntables. Et avoit le chief du seint martir enbracié et se gisoit devant lui a terre et le gardoit en tel maniere que nule beste ne pooit a lui aprouchier ne mal metre, et avoit cil leux si oubliee la tres grant gloutonnie de sa nature que il l'avoit gardé sanz lui atouchier. Si s'en merveillierent mult tuit cil qui en tel guise le trouverent et distrent que cil seintuaires pooit bien estre semblables a celui qui fu mis entre les lions fameilleux et s'en eschapa sanz mal metre contre les menaces de ses annemis.

Cil qui ilec estoient assemblé pristrent et leverent le precïeus seintuaire, que nus ne porroit prisier, a grant joie et a grant habondance de

lermes; l'enporterent a son cors et beneissoient Nostre Seignor en lor ignes et en leur chançons. Et li leus qui garde avoit esté de cez seintes reliques les suivi tout plorant de ce qu'il li avoient osté. Et si ne touchoit ne blecoit nul home et si en estoit mult corrouciez, ne ne fesoit a nul semblant de son corrout; einz ensivoit tout adés le vout del seint roi martir de quoi il li toloient la garde; ne nus si espoëntables leux ne fu puis veüz, si se departi d'eus mult sagement. Et cil assemblerent et ajousterent le chief au cors, tout einsi com il leur sembla mieuz, et le mistrent tout ensemble en soës espices en un couvenable tombel. Et edefierent sus le cors une povre yglise de mult petite oeuvre ou li seinz cors se reposa par meinz anz desi qu'a tant que les batailles et les doutances du païs furent apaiees et que seinte Yglise fu delivree de la grant persecucion qu'ele avoit eüe et que ele conmença a resordre de la destresce ou si annemi l'avoient mise, qui demoustra a mon seignor seint Aymon, le beneüré roi martir, l'amor et la devocion qu'ele ot envers lui par la semence de ses bonnes oevres.

Icil seinz glorieux martirs, qui estoit repolz en cele povre yglise, se demoustra par glorïex miracles de queles merites il fu envers Nostre Seignor. Et de cez miracles furent esmeü tuit cil de

la province, non pas seulement li pueples menuz mes li rois et li prince qui sont en une vile que l'en apele en la langue aus Englois Bedritegord. Li sires de cele cité fist fere une yglise entablee de merveillex fuz, et i fist translater le seint gloriex roi martir a grant joie et a grant honnor, si com il devoit. Mes une merveille i avint qe le seint cors du glorieux roi martir a grant joie, que l'en cuidoit qui fust porriz pour la grant demoree que il avoit fet en terre, a esté trouvé ausi sein et ausi entier conme le jor qu'il i ot esté mis. Et li chiés li tenoit au cors autresint conme se il n'en eüst onques esté dessevré, et n'i aparoit ne resaneüre ne plaie fors que seulement autresint conme d'un filet de soie vermeill. Et en ceste maniere doit il estre apelez seinz rois martirs, car il fu translatez en celui leu ausi entier conme se il fust vis, et en cele semblance meismes est il encore et sera jusques a la resurrection des cors, fors solement tant que cele fronce i paroit ausi grelles conme un fil de soie, si conme une bone fame seinte qui avoit non Osane le tesmoingne, qui einçois celui tens de lores avoit esté entour la seinte fosse de cel seint glorieux martir en geünes et en oroisons par mult lonc tens. Car il li avint que par la grant devocion que ele avoit que li sarqueus de cest seint

glorïex roi martir li fu aouverz toz les jorz que ele i aloit au Jour de la Ceinne. Et li rooingnoit a icelui jor et les ongles et les cheveuz, et les mist en un escrinet et les porta sus l'autel de cele yglise meismes ou li seinz cors gisoit, ou l'en les garde encore honorablement.

Mes uns beneürez evesques, seinz et religïeux qui estoit apelez Theodoris, esprouva l'enterineté de cel martir. Car il avint que qant cil seinz cors fu translatez, que meintes genz de religion et autres i vindrent, qui i offrirent meint riche don d'or et d'argent a fere un vessel pour le seint cors honorer. Si avint que aucunes males genz, sorpris et engignié du conseill au deable, distrent et voldrent une nuit rober et brisier cele yglise, et furent viii qui orent enpenssé lor mauvés vouloir a parfere et a prendre et a rober toutes les choses de cele yglise qui mestier leur eüssent. Il pristrent leur oustilz, tiex com il cuiderent que mestier leur eüssent a ce fere, et vindrent une nuit a parfere leur felonnie, et s'esturent enmi le cymetire de cele yglise, et s'apareilla chascun de fere son mestier.

Li uns prist une eschiele et l'adreça encontre les postiaux de l'iglise pour despecier une fenestre qui estoit pres de ces postiaux, si que il peüst entrer en l'iglise par mi; et li autre a une lime et

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a un maill de fer vint a la serreüre et aus verroulz de l'uis de l'yglise, et conmença a limer et a ferir; et li autres a un pic et a une hoë conmença a percier et a hoër au mur de l'iglise. Et qant il furent einsi ordené a leur oeuvre, li seinz martirs les lia en tel maniere en leur oeuvre meïsmes que il n'orent pooir de remüer leur piez ne de lessier leur oeuvres; einz pendoit li uns sus l'eschiele en haut, et li autres estoit corbez contre terre a fére sa fosse, et li autres limoit aus verrouz des huis. Et por ce les avoit einsi lïez li glorïeus seinz martirs et roi mes sires seinz Aymonz, qu'il avoient conmenciee cele oeuvre en larrecin.

Il avoit un marreglier en cele yglise qui estoit si endormiz et si lïez par la puissance de cel seint martir que la noise que il ooit de cez males genz ne le poet esveillier. Car li seinz martirs ne vouloit pas que il fust contreres a ses fez, et si estoit en tel maniere lïez qu'il ne se pooit ne remüer ne parler. Et einsi cil larron demorerent en leur oeuvres qüe il avoient conmenciee, tant que il i furent pris de toute la gent et lïé et retenu et furent baillié a la justise a jugier et a tormenter. Et cil les amenerent au jugement de cel evesque qui Theodoris avoit non, qui sus ceus donna sentence dont il se repenti puis touz les jorz de sa vie; car il

conmanda qu'en les pendist touz au gibet, por ce qu'il avoient osé envaïr le cimetire de l'yglise mon seignor seint Aymon le glorïeux roi martir. Et en ce ne se pourpenssa il pas de ce que Nostre Sire dit par le prophete: "Ceus que tu verras mener a mort, paines toi de delivrer les." Ne si ne mist pas en memoire le fet que Heliseus le prophete fist, qui le larron que il avoit pris en la terre de Samarie reput de pain et d'eve et l'en avoit renvoié en son païs et dit au roi qui le vouloit ocirre qu'il ne l'avoit repris a nul larrecin ne par force ne par pooir d'armes. Et li apostres le conmande a ceus qui sont establiz es dignitez de sainte eglise que qant il auront nule besoingne seculer a fere, que il i metent et establissent laies genz a parfere les; et l'auctorité des canons le desfent que nus evesques ne nus clers ne s'entremete de jugement de sanc; car ce est honteuse chose et vileinne, qant cil qui sont menistre de la vie pardurable s'otroient ne acordent a la mort de nul home. Et pour ce cil evesques s'endoulut et s'en repenti mult durement et en reçut penitance ou il demora mult longuement en pleurs et en lermes. Et qant il ot sa penitance parfete, il apela le pueple de sa diocese et leur pria et amonesta que il geünassent trois jorz et priassent a Nostre Seignor que Il li pardonnast le pechié et

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l'ire que il avoit envers Lui, si que Nostre Sires fust apaiez envers lui par la contribulation de son esperit. Et li donast tant de sa grace que il osast touchier et laver le cors de cel seint glorïeux roi martir, qui gisoit en vil et en descouvenable leu en terre, et si en estoit l'ame florie devant Dieu par la vertu de ses oeuvres. Si avint par le vouloir de Nostre Seignor que il parfist ce que il desirroit, et toucha et leva et lava le seint martir, et enprés le vesti de nués et de tres precïeus vestemenz et mist le cors en un biau vessel; dont il l'avoit osté, si en rendi graces et loënge a Nostre Seignor.

Lonc tens aprés avint que uns jones bachelers qui avoit non Leosten, jolis et envoisiez et gentilx hom de lignage, s'enhardi par sa joliveté et par sa force, tant que il se fist moustrer le cors de cel seint glorïex roi martir. Et fu sor le pois et sus le desfens a toute sa mesniee; mes par la force de son conmandement, couvint que il le veïst, car il estoit si hauz hom et de si noble ligniee que tuit le doutoient ne n'osoient contredire son conmandement. Si covint que li escrins ou li cors au seint glorïeux roi martir gisoit fust ouverz, et cil damoisiaux s'estut devant et le regarda. Et en ce que il le regardoit, en cele eure meïsmes Nostre Sires li toli le sen et araja, et li demostra par la peine qu'il

avoit soufferte et que il soffroit qu'il avoit chose fete qui n'apartenoit pas a lui. Et qant ses peres, qui avoit non Elgart, le sot, si se douta durement de la felonnie que son fill avoit fete; car il estoit seinz hom et religieus. Et conmença a prier le seint martyr et a rendre graces, et desevra son fill d'avec lui, qui puis parfina sa vie, si conme Diex plot, car il ot puis tant de souffretes que li verin le mengierent. Et en ceste maniere mes sires seinz Aymonz le glorieus roi martir demoustra a touz que il n'estoit pas de mendres merites que mes sires seinz Lorenz, si-conme seint Gregoire le tesmoingne; car aucunes genz furent qui voldrent regarder et laver le cors de cel seint glorieu roi martir, ja soit ce que il n'en fussent pas digne ou que il en fussent digne; il en i ot ilec vii morz de soudeinne mort. Si doit l'en mult amer et honorer le seint leu qui garde et tient issi grant tresor et si precieus et si grant tesmoing de Jhesu Crit, et por cui Diex fet et a fet issi granz miracles que si granz ne furent onques veües ne oïes el reigne d'Engleterre. Et por ce m'en sui ge briement passez, car ge creoie et m'estoit avis que cez choses que ge vos ai dites a grant desirrier de mon cuer vos peüssent souffire et que ge n'en receüsse le corrouz de nului por ce qu'eles fussent trop longues ou trop anuieuses. Dont il avient que

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nus ne doit metre les merites de cest seint glorïeux roi martir encontre autres merites. Car autresi conme toutes les ames des seinz sont en la gloire Jhesu Crit, autresi est l'ame de cel seint martir. Et neporqant ele n'est pas loinz de son cors, car ele le visite sovent. Dont li cors a partie en terre des biens celestïeux par la visitacion de l'ame, car tout autresint conme l'ame est jointe a Celui qui reigne el pardurable païs et en a tout qanqu'ele velt et desirre, tout ausi a li cors par la visitacion de l'ame, fors seulement de tant que ele desirre que la char soit muee en la resurreccion terrianne par la gloire de l'ame, car lors aura il parfete joie qant il sera a ce venuz. Ne nus ne porroit cuidier en ceste vie conme cist seinz martirs avoit esté seinz hon, de cui li cors demoustre, qui trespassez est, que il atent la resurrection pardurable, par ce que il n'est ne corrumpuz ne porriz. Et aucun crestïen dient que ce est le guerredon et le loihier et de Nostre Seignor por sa virginité qu'il garda en cest siecle si parfitement que sa char en fu par torment corrumpue et par engoisse de mort temporel. Ne il n'est nul si grant gaaing ne greignor a home que ce que il gaaint par la charité de la foi crestianne, ce que li anglere ont par lor nature. Et ce demoustre signe verai que: "Les virges suivent l'Aignel en

quelque part que Il soit." Et por ce devons regarder en quel maniere cil rois, qui avoit touz les deliz de cest siecle, se pourpenssa et pena de traveillier sa char, a ce qu'ele ne peüst estre corrumpue par torment ne par pestillesce. Et a ce devons nos prendre essample au servise que li membre de cestui seint beneüré roi martir demoustrent, qui sont sanz nule corruption en terre, que nos servons Dieu des noz membres sanz pechié, au meins que nos chastions si nostre char, que nos nos puissons contenir en virginité. Car se nostre ame, qui n'est pas veable ne ne puet estre contreprise en nul lieu, ne corrouce Dieu par nul pechié que li cors face en ceste presente vie, et de ce nos menace mult durement li prophetes qui dit: "se tu as fet pechié en terre, tu ne seras ja en la gloire Dieu," et pour ce devons depr"ier celui seint glorieux roi martir mon seignor seint Aymon, que il nos desfende de ceste sentence et nous delivre en tel maniere de nos pechiez, par les quiex nous deservons mort pardurable, que nos puissons avoir la conpaignie des seinz angleres en la gloire du Pere et du Fill et du seint Esperit, Qui vit et reigne el siecle des siecles sanz fin, amen. Si fine la vie et le martire seint Aymon qui fu roi d'Engleterre; explicit.

NOTES.

1. A is the reading that Paul Meyer ("Legendes hagiographiques," Histoire littéraire de France, XXXIII, 1906, p. 418), in listing the first lines of all the articles appearing in the légendier gives for the initial letter. Porter, however, simply reads Icelui tens in his transcription.

2. Meyer (op. cit. p. 418, n.4), remarks that Dureaume is a misinterpretation of Abbo's Dorobernensis, the Latin adjective for Canterbury.

10. Por ce qu'il pleüst . . . et qi fust are purpose clauses; an idea of cause is also implied by the conjunction por ce que.

14. In par sa seintee "in his saintly way," par has a connotation of both cause and manner.

16. Rovecester, also Porter's reading. Abbo, p.3, gives Rofensis. Æ̂lfstan was Bishop of Rochester at this time according to Stubbs' Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum, cited by Arnold, Memorials, I, 3, n.2.

16. Arnold (Memorials, I, 3, n.4), remarks that in William of Malmesbury's Gesta Pontificum Anglorum V, Æ̂lfric is cited as Abbot of Malmesbury at that time but Arnold explains that there is some question about the matter.

26. qui stands for cui.

28. Aerestan: The initial ae might be jutifiably read as a de; however, the name refers to Athelstan, King of England from 925-940. In Abbo, p.4, he is called Adelstanus; therefore, although the French writer may have written de instead of ae, I prefer the reading Aerestan. Porter, however, reads Derestan.

31. The use of a relative adjective in a demonstrative function, in imitation of Latin usage, is a characteristic feature of the French writer's prose style. Au quel is used in such a way here.

34. The object pronoun la must be supplied as the object of celer and garder 33; la refers to cele seinte vie 29, 'the account of that holy life'.

41. The ste of requeste is faint. However, requeste coincides with petitioni in Abbo, p.4.

41. par here and in the following line expresses cause.

42. The infinitive acomplir depends upon ge m'otroie.

42. The adverb i should not be translated in English; en letres seculers specifies where.

45. Celui functions as the subject of donnast.

45. The French writer misinterprets Abbo, p.4, who speaks of St. Edmund in terms of the Platonic concept of "philosopher king." He writes:

> . . . posthabitis aliquantulum saecularium litterarum studiis, quasi ad interiorem philosophiam animae me contuli, dum ejus qui vere philosophatus est in throno regni virtutes scribere proposui, maxime tamen eas, quae post ejus obitum, saeculis inauditae, factae sunt.

The French ll. 42-53 may be translated:

> So I devoted a little of my time and my attention to secular studies; then I sought refuge in the treasure chest of my spirit, and I engaged in philosophical meditation so that He who is Philosopher on the throne of the eternal kingdom should give me strength and ability to recount the virtues and the miracles of my lord St. Edmund, the glorious king and martyr, especially those which have occurred since his death and have not been heard about.

51. The subject of fermoit is l'auctorité 50; la channe chevelëure qualifies ce; the translation may be:

> and because of this, his authority confirms them and deserves belief, namely the white hair of his head.

54. Reference is made in particular to the incorruption of St. Edmund's body; the Archbishop answers the peoples' doubt concerning this by referring to St. Cuthbert, whose incorruption was attested during many centuries; cf. Cousin, Abbon, p. 71, n.33, and Edwin Burton, "Cuthbert," in the Catholic Encyclopedia, New York, 1908, IV, 578-79.

56. Porter also reads essanple in l. 56. In l. 58 I read essample for the m here seems quite clear; Porter, however, again reads essanple.

59. Cucubert refers to St. Cuthbert; Abbo, p.4, wrote Cuthbertus. The second syllable in the French is probably a lapsus on the part of the writer, who apparently wrote cu once, then forgot and wrote it again.

59. Qui, employed in a demonstrative function, must refer to li arcevesques 55, not to Cucubert 59; therefore, a sentence break seems better after Cucubert than a comma, which is Porter's reading.

60. The phrase le cors du celui seint gloriex martir seems to refer to Cuthbert, Cucubert 59; he was not a

martyr, however. The passage in Abbo, p.4, equivalent to ll. 57-62, reads:

> Cujus quaestionis ambiguum volens purgare, tu, magnae peritiae sacrarium, pro exemplo adjecisti, quod multomagis audientium attonita corda concussit, cuia sanctus Domini Cuthbertus, incomparabilis confessor et episcopus, non solum adhuc expectat diem primae resurrectionis incorrupto corpore, sed etiam perfusus quodam blando te (m) pore.

66. teues: The vowel following t is unclear. I read it as an e of which the top has been partially effaced: the following vowel is u, giving teues, the regular possessive form. Porter, however, reads tuies.

66. The clause fait il a l'arcevesque is the only indication that the author is quoting the works of the monk of Fleury; it must be taken with what precedes and follows.

74. The manuscript reads Adis instead of Jadis. There is an empty space preceding the A of Adis where the writer apparently intended the illuminator to insert an initial J at the beginning of the new paragraph. A new paragraph is certainly suitable here since this point marks the end of the prologue and the beginning of a new section.

76. ff.: This synopsis of the Germanic settlement of Britain follows Abbo and in general summarizes the accounts given in Gildas (De Excididio Britanniae, ed. Joseph Stevenson [London, English Historical Society, 1838], pp. 19-24, pp. 24-32), and Bede (Historia Ecclesica, ed. Plummer), Bk. I, chs. xiv-xv, pp. 29-33. However, Abbo, p.6, following Bede, Bk. I,

chs. xv, p. 56, names the Jutes as the third group of invaders.

86. The phrase anemis de la terre refers to the chevaliers soudoiers, that is the Angles and the Saxons.

86. The phrase icil chetif souffreteus refers to the Britons.

86. Porter reads entendoient in place of en rendoient.

97. que introduces the verb retindrent 100, whose object is une partie 97, restated as icele partie 100; retindrent 101 also depends on que 97.

100. The statement here and in Abbo, that the Saxons retained as their share the section known to this day as East Anglia is somewhat surprising; the French author clarifies the matter in ll. 130-31 when he adds that the Saxons later ceded this section to the Angles; for Abbo's statement and its use in the Anglo-Norman La Passiun de Seint Edmund, cf. Alexander Bell ("Notes on Two Anglo-Norman Saints' Lives," Philological Quarterly, XXXV, I, (January, 1956), 54). Modern scholars, however, are uncertain about the Germanic settlement of Anglian areas in England; cf. Hodgkin, A History of the Anglo-Saxons, I, 147-8, 157-61, and Clark, East Anglia, pp. 132-39.

102. The antecedent of qui is les Englois 101.

105. dus refers to the first leaders of the early Teutonic settlements as opposed to the rulers of the small kingdoms that were formed somewhat later.

107. It is somewhat difficult to understand the plural form les illes. According to what follows, the writer is apparently referring to East Anglia; he is perhaps thinking of it as a complex of islands because it is so interspersed with lakes, marshes, and rivers; J. A. Stears (The Sea Coast [London, Collins, 1954], pp. 216-17), points out that estuaries of the sea along the East Anglian coast penetrated further inland in pre Norman Conquest times than now; thus the region was more broken up previously than it is today, les illes seems to refer to Essex in l. 132, also a region broken up by many rivers.

113. euro, a latinism for the southeast, is not attested in Godefroy; one example with the meaning south-east wind is given in Tobler-Lommatzsch, III.

114. Icele si is equivalent to Icele ci.

116.. The reference is to the rivers which flow from higher ground to the southwest through the fenland into the estuary of the North Sea known as the Wash; cf. Bell, "Notes on Two Anglo-Norman Saints' Lives," pp. 55-56.

117. ff.: Abbo, p.7, says that East Anglia is bordered on the west by a high mound and a ditch for purposes of protection. The remains of many earthen embankments and ditches, whose date of construction is not definitely known, still exist in western Norfolk and Cambridgeshire; it has been suggested that the wall to which Abbo refers is Devil's Dyke on New Market Heath

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(S. Tymms, "The Devil's Dyke, Newmarket," Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History [Bury St. Edmunds, 1849], I, 175). This embankment at one point measures 60 ft. from the top of the wall to the bottom of the ditch; (cf. Clarke, East Anglia, pp. 135-36). The French author's statement that East Anglia is bordered on the west by la rive de la mer qui autresint l'a aceinte conme se ele fust close de murs is difficult to understand. It should be remembered, however, that the waters of the Wash penetrated further inland along the western border of East Anglia in medieval times than they do today, and the fenland below the wash extended further south, (cf. H. C. Darby, The Domesday Geography of Eastern England [Cambridge University Press, 1952], pp. 352-53). Thus East Anglia was cut off from the rest of Britain to a certain extent. Moreover it should be pointed out that there is along the Wash a sea-bank known to have been constructed some time before 1178 (cf. Clarke, East Anglia, pp. 23-24). It is perhaps to this embankment that the French author's term rive de la mer refers.

127. Reference is made to the monasteries of the fens such as Ely and Ramsey.

131. See note to l. 100.

132. The region referred to may be Essex; see note to l. 100.

141. Porter makes a sentence break after meurs.

144. I follow Porter's reading de si debonere cuer.

159. aloit is used transitively.

165. ff.: Ecclesiastes xxxii, 1.

175. Translate que 'because.'

190. someriquet is not recorded in Godefroy; since Abbo, p. 9, gives vertice it may be translated 'summit.'

191. ff.: celui qui se mist ff. seems to refer to Lucifer who according to one tradition tried to set himself up in the north in defiance of God; cf. the reference to Lucifer in the Anglo-Saxon poem Genesis A (trans. Henry Morley, Translations from Old English Poetry, ed. Albert S. Cook and Chauncey B. Tinker [Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1935], rev. ed., p. 106):

> ". . . Then, athirst for strife,
> He said that northward he would own in heaven
> A home and a high throne."

193. 'North wind' is given as the first meaning of aquillon in Tobler-Lommatzsch (I, 484), but two examples of its use as 'north' are also given. In the Bible, Jeremiah, in particular, refers to the north as the place from which evil and invasion came; see especially Jeremiah i, 14 and vi, 1; cf. S. R. Driver, (A Dictionary of the Bible, ed. James Hastings [New York, Scribners, 1900] III, 559).

200. acropafagi: Abbo, p.9, reads antropofagi.

201. Abbo, p.9, reads infra Scythiam in place of en Escoce. The substitution en Escoce in the French text is curious and may perhaps be suggestive of a tradition

which in some way associated Scythia and Scotland. For example, Bede (Historia Ecclesiastica, ed. Plummer, I, i, 11) says that some Picts came originally to Scotland from Scythia, which is interpreted by some scholars as Scandinavia; cf. Edmund Faral, (La Légende arthurienne [Paris, 1929], II, 163).

202. Porter also reads Hyperboroos; Abbo, p.9, says: "talesque nationes abundant plurimae infra Scythiam, prope Hyperboreos montes." J. S. P. Tatlock in his The Legendary History of Britain (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1950, pp. 109-10), remarks that the Romans sometimes associated the Scandinavians and the Scythians and called them both Yperborei.

202. Here and in l. 207 genz is masculine, although it is usually feminine in the text: bone gent 269, sa gent 452, meintes genz 710, aucunes males genz 713.

204-5. The manuscript is partially obliterated here and the words as and portent can only be discerned with difficulty; Porter reads de instead of as.

205. W. Bousset in The Antichrist Legend (trans. A. H. Keane, [London, 1896], pp. 191-202), mentions that in various sources the followers of the Antichrist have his mark, sometimes a serpent, branded upon their foreheads. According to one tradition, in the realm of the Antichrist, people suffer from drought and famine, and only those who wear his mark upon their foreheads are able to secure food.

209. The idea in this line is: "and they torment them by making piratical raids."

210. Acil is not given as a variant of the demonstrative in the dictionaries of Godefroy or Tobler-Lommatzsch. Porter reads Icil. The form Akou is recorded once in Godefroy.

211. There is a hole in the manuscript between e and v; there is a mark over e which appears to be a tilde. Therefore I read envairent which is in accordance with the sense of the passage.

222. I read art as a perfect in which preconsonantal s has fallen before t.

230-31. The translation is: "and this he did to the utmost of his power, nor could he be satisfied with slaughter."

242. ff.: The conclusion of the condition is absent, as the conditional statement is interrupted by a series of relative clauses, but it is restated and concluded in the following paragraph.

251. Translate pour la defaute des ocis 'because of lack of men.'

264. ff.: translate:

> and he removed from the Christians everything which he thought would be of use to them where they might come for refuge, and he had their ships on the beach taken away.

283. arivez: I follow Porter's reading.

285. meintes modifies gent.

296. Porter reads entencion.

320. Bon is Porter's reading. The manuscript reads

initial B&c; I am unable to find an explanation of this symbol.

325. ff.: translate:

> May it now please God that each one of you weep while helping himself against this trouble which is so imminent, if only you do not die in the onslaught of that treacherous tyrant.

330. Translate que ge en fusse occis 'that I might be killed by it'; en refers to la force de cest tirant.

334. dit reads better as a perfect; s has fallen before t.

339. Porter reads deffenz and deffenssion 340.

347. m'avieingne: I follow Porter's reading. The form illustrates the use of -ingn- as a graphy for palatal n.

353. I have not found an example elsewhere of acusement de mort. The meaning here is not clear. Abbo, p. 12, writes:

> "Semper delatoriae accusationis calumpniam evitavi; numquam relictae militiae probra sustinui, eo quod honestum mihi esset pro patria mori."

In his translation of Abbo, Hervey (Corolla Sancti Eadmundi, p. 27) renders the above:

> "I have always avoided the calumnious accusations of the informer; never have I endured the opprobrium of fleeing from the battlefield, realising how glorious it would be for me to die for my country."

However, it is possible that delatoriae accusationis calumpniam means 'the accusation made by an informer' rather than 'the calumnious accusations of the informer.' There is an entry in Tobler-Lommatzsch (I, 93b), from the

Latin-French dictionary of Guillaume Briton giving delatio: acusemens. If acusement in this passage of the French text is translated 'informing,' or 'handing over information,' then Edmund is saying that he will neither capitulate nor give information to the enemy, for he has never done this nor has he ever feared taking risks for his country although his men have often remonstrated with him. On the other hand, acusement de mort could mean 'acknowledgement' of the threat of death. The use of acusement would then be similar to the use of accuser meaning 'acknowledge' in modern French. In this case Edmund would be saying that he has always avoided accepting or acknowledging the danger of death but instead has never feared taking risks.

355. Translate m'estoit 'it seemed to me.'

369. comenient is also Porter's reading. Although this form is not recorded, commeniement is given in Godefroy II, 199b, and Tobler-Lommatzsch II, 647.

374. Translate en despisant 'while outraging them.'

386. Translate s'en parti 'started to leave'; after the messenger had made his announcement, St. Edmund first addressed the Bishop (ll. 320-333, 367-385); he then answered the messenger directly just as the latter was about to leave.

390. morz is used transitively.

392. I take ensuivre as depending on vueil 391; Porter, however, reads ensuivré.

395. ff.: Porter interprets the passage starting tout einsi as direct discourse. He reads the beginning: "Tout einsi que li fuilz de deable resemble bien son pere . . ."

397. Translate et envelopa ff.:

> and he snared the human race in
> such a way that he made many souls
> who were not of themselves guilty
> share his punishment.

407. The first ce, probably spelled thus under the influence of the following ce, should be translated as se 'if.'

408. The equivalent of corages in Abbo, p. 14, is libertas animi.

413. The form sozgeucion is not attested in Godefroy.

424. Translate Et por ce ff.:

> "And, therefore, in whatever way
> my spirit leaves the prison house
> of my body, it will go straight
> away to heaven, because it has served
> its master well and is now free to
> maintain and loyally continue its
> service."

Abbo, p.14, writes:

> "Idcirco, seu sponte seu invitus,
> de carcere suo meus ad coelum
> evolet liber spiritus, nulla
> emancipationis aut abalienationis
> specie contaminatus, quia regem
> diminutum capite numquam, Danus,
> videbis ad triumphum supervivere."

The form messervir is not given in Godefroy and Tobler-Lommatzsch.

440. Translate autresint conme ff.: 'as the

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standard bearer and defense of the Eternal King.' Abbo, p. 15, reads: "malens esse signifer in castris aeterni regis."

443. Translate s'einsi n'estoit ff.: 'unless he (Hymgar) wishes to become a member of Edmund's faith and religion'; Abbo, pp. 14-15, reads: " nisi prius effectus fueris compos nostrae religionis."

463. The participles degabant et batant et fustant refer to the 3 pers. pl. subject pronoun understood in the verb form l'enmenerent.

481. tresfoï: tresforer is given in Godefroy but not tresfoïr. Latin had both transforare and transfodere (transfodio, -fodi, -fossum), which remodelled on the fourth conjugation type would have given tresfoïr.

490. reclainme is also Porter's reading; however, the manuscript is slightly blurred at n.

495. Translate fors tant sanz plus que 'except that.'

503. The regular spelling of paintures is pointures; the above form of the word is not given in Godefroy.

512. Translate et estoit reformez ff.:

> and he was transformed by a vision of the eternal light so that he longed to be satisfied more completely with the great glory of Jesus Christ through the pain that he suffered.

The idea of pardurable lumiere differs from Abbo, p. 16: "jam recreabatur visione internae lucis, qua in agone positus satiari cupiebat attentius."

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518. The manuscript reads cospa in place of colpa.

524. el douzieme nombre des kalendes: Abbo, p. 16, reads: duodecimo kalendas Decembris 'November 20.'

542. The nominative singular mi is possibly the Picard form of the possessive adjective.

549. Translate ausi hericié ff.: 'so bristling and pierced with darts and arrows that one could see nothing but arrows.'

569. Translate et l'en vit ff.: 'and he saw someone carry it off into the wood.'

584. li pueples is used as a collective noun, subject of virent.

591. Translate debonerетez 'kindnesses'; there are no examples of this word in the plural in Godefroy or Tobler-Lommatzsch. Abbo, p. 17, reads: "propter antiquam beneficiorum memoriam et ingenitam regis clementiam."

603. preïssent and rasemblassent are dependent on s'acorderent 602.

616. que following faillent is equivalent to car.

624. Et la langue ff.: Abbo, p. 18, reads:

> Palpitabat mortuae linguae plectrum infra moenia faucium, manifestans in se Verbigenae magnalia, qui rudenti asellae humana compegit verba, ut increparet prophetae insipientiam.

No verb mouveter with a participle mouvetant is attested in Godefroy or Tobler-Lommatzsch. Verbigenae is rendered by Celui qui fu engendré par parole; cf. Numbers, xxii, 18: " Aperuitque Dominus os asinae, et locuta est."

647. Translate que nus ne porroit prisier 'which no one could evaluate.'

668. The antecedent of qui is Yglise 665.

671 The form repolz 'buried,' is not attested in Godefroy or Tobler-Lommatzsch.

681. le seint cors is the subject of a esté trouvé 684.

682. que has the meaning car.

683. qui is equivalent to qu'il. See l. 11.

687. resanetïre 'scar,' is not given in Godefroy.

688. Translate fors que seulement autresint conme 'except a slight'.

693. translate fors solement tant que 'except that.'

696. The antecedent of qui is Osane; translate qui eincois celui tens de lores 'who previous to this time.'

7)8. Theodoris corresponds to Theodredus in Abbo, p.20, or in one manuscript Theodoricus (cf. Arnold, Memorials, I, 20, n.2); Arnold (Memorials, I, 20, n.a.), remarks that there was a Theodred, Bishop of Elman between 975 and 995, to whom reference may be made here.

757. Ceus que ff.: cf. Proverbs, xxiv, 11.

759. Heliseus ff.: cf. Fourth Book of Kings vi, 14-23.

764. li apostres ff.: First Corinthians vi, 4.

783. qui gisoit ff.: Abbo, p.22: "qui, licet tantis virtutibus floreret in mundo, vili tamen et sibi incongruo continebatur mausoleo." When compared to this, the meaning of the French passage seems to be: "Saint Edmund lay in an

unsuitable coffin, although it was clear his soul was pleasing to God because of the many miracles worked at his tomb." Translate descouvenable leu 'unsuitable coffin,' et si 'and yet.'

803. Translate: en cele eure ff.: ' in that very hour Our Lord took away his reason and deprived him of it.' The form araja is a variant of aracha.

816. Pope Gregory the Great (Epistolarum Liber IV, Epist. XXX, Migne, Patrologia Latina , 1862, LXXVII, 701-2), gives this account about St. Lawrence, the third century martyr whom Abbo, p. 23, calls the blessed levite and martyr.

832. Translate autres merites 'the merits of anyone else.'

855. anglere and angleres 878, are Porter's readings; they seem correct although no such forms are given in Godefroy or Tobler-Lommatzsch.

856. Les virges ff.: cf. Apocolypse, xiv, 4.

864. que introduces a result clause.

867. Car se nostre ame begins a condition to which there is no real conclusion; et pour ce ff. may be regarded as a kind of conclusion. The idea in the French deviates from Abbo, p. 24, who writes:

> Quoniam si illa sanctae animae invisibilis et illocalis praesentia alicujus famulantium spurcitia offendatur, timendum est, quod propheta terribiliter comminatur . . . .

In his translation of Abbo, Hervey (Corolla Sancti Eadmundi,

p. 57), renders the above:

> For should the Presence of that sacred spirit, which no eye can detect, and which is not confined by limits of space, be offended by the foul life of any of its ministers, it is to be feared . . . . .

871. se tu ff.: cf. Isaiah, xxvi, 10.

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VOCABULARY

The vocabulary includes only those words for which fewer than three medieval examples illustrating the same meaning are given in the dictionaries of Godefroy, Littré, and Tobler-Lommatzsch.

acil, dem. adj., nom. pl. 210; see note to l. 210.

acropafagi, n.m., cannibals, nom. pl. 200; see note to l. 200.

acusement, n.f., (acusement de mort), acknowledging the immediate threat of death? 353; see note to l. 353.

anglere, n.m., angel, obl. pl. angleres 878, nom. pl. anglere 855; see note to l. 855.

aquillon, n.m., north, 113, 193, 196; see note to l. 193.

bise, n.f., the north-east, 220; see note to l. 220.

blemissëure, n.f., disfiguration, 62; see note to l. 62.

comenient, n.m., Communion, 369; see note to l. 369.

contreprendre, v. tr., capture, confine. - -P.p.f. contreprise 868.

decolierre, n.m., executioner, nom. s. -es 517.

desfens, n.m., (sus le desfens a), in spite of the prohibition of, 796.

euro, n.m., south-east, 113; see note to l. 113.

foloier, v. refl., lose one's way. - - Imp. subj. foloiassent 604.

journee, n.f., (a petites journees), in short day's rides, 279.

messervir, v. intr., serve badly? - - Pf. 3 messervi 425, see note to l. 425.

mouveter, v. intr., move? - - Pr. p. mouvetant 625; see note to l. 624.

painture, n.f., puncture, pl. -es 503; see note to l. 503.

palés, n.m., palate, 625.

pestillesce, n.f., torment, 861.

repolz, P.p. nom. s., buried? 671; see note to l. 671.

resanedre, n.f., scar? 687; see note to l. 687.

someriquet, n.m., summit? 190; see note to l. 190.

sozgeucion, n.f., subjection, 413; see note to l. 413.

tresfoïr, v. tr., stab through. - - P.p. -oi 481; see note to l. 481.

verin, n.m., small worm, nom. pl. verin 812.

PROPER NAMES.

The orthographic variations of all proper names are given in the glossary; if a name recurs constantly, only three line readings of each variant and case form are given. When it occurs, the oblique singular form is given first.

l'Aignel, 856; see note to l. 856.

Antecrist, 203; see note to l. 203.

Aymon, seint, St. Edmund, 182, 272, 315, nom. seinz Aymonz 243, 542, 567, Aymons, 134, Aymon, 344, 388, 446, rois Aimonz, 440; see also p. viii, n.5.

Aube Florie, Abbey of Fleury, 4, 17; see Introduction pp. vii, ix-xi.

Balaham, Balaam, 628.

Bedritegord, English town of Beodricsworth, 677; see Introduction pp. xliv-l.

Bretaingne, Great Britain, 105, Grant Bretaingne 115, Bretaingne la Grant, 74, Bretaigne, 187.

Bretons, the Britons, 77, 91, nom. pl. Breton, 76.

Cucubert, St. Cuthbert, 59; see note to l. 59 and Introduction p. xlviii.

Dani, the Danes, 208; see Introduction pp. vii, xxviii-xxxii, xlvii-xlvii, lvii-lxi

Aerestan, Athelstan, 28; see note l. 28 and Introduction pp. xii, xxxiv.

Dieu, 325, 523, 865, nom. Dex, 329, 379, Diex, 406, 538, 823.

Donstans, St. Dunstan, 1; see Introduction pp. x-xii, xxxiv.

Dureaume, 2; see note l. 2.

Eastangle, East Anglia, 100; see Introduction pp. v, xxii-xxxii.

Elgart, English noble, 807.

Englois, the Angles, 75, 76, 101, 131,
the English, 99, 374.

Engleterre, 12, 825, 881.

Escoce, Scotland, 201; see note to l. 201.

Gregoire, seint, 816; see note to l. 816.

Haymon, seint, var. of Aymon, 14, 178, Haimon, 9, nom. Haymonz, 521, used as nom. Haymon, 237.

Hegeliduns, town and wood of Haegelisdun, 246, Hegledun, 554; see Introduction pp. xxxvi-xli, xlv.

Heliseus, Elisha, 759; see note to l. 759.

Humba, Danish Leader, 185, 210, 218; see Introduction pp. lvii-lxi.

Hymgar, Danish Leader, 183, 210, 282; see Introduction pp. lvi-lxi.

Hyperoreos, Hyperborean mountains; 202; see note to l. 202.

Jhesu Crist, 360, 384, 414, Jhesu Crit, 515, 530, 823, nom. Jhesu Cristz, 63, used as nom. Jhesu Crist, 460, Jhesu Crit, 538.

Job, seint, Job, 174, 176.

Jour de la Ceinne, Holy Thursday, 702.

Kalendes, f. pl. Kalends, 524.

Leosten, son of an English noble, 792.

Lorenz, seinz, 816; see note to l. 816.

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Manelaberi, Malmesbury, 16; see note to l. 16.

Norembinbre, Northumbria, 212; see Introduction p. xxix.

Nostre Seignor, 21, 128, 180, nom. Nostre Sires, 563, 803, Nostre Sire, 756.

Osane, Holy woman who visited St. Edmund's tomb, 696.

Rovecestre, Rochester, 16; see note to l. 16.

Samarie, Samaria, 760.

Sauvierres, 531.

Sebastien, seint, 485.

Seint Esperit, 6, 879.

Sesnes, the Saxons, 75, 131, 133, nom. pl. Sesne, 76, 107.

Sessoingne, Saxony, 75.

Theodoris, English Bishop, 708, 751; see note to l. 708.

Trinité, 364.

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